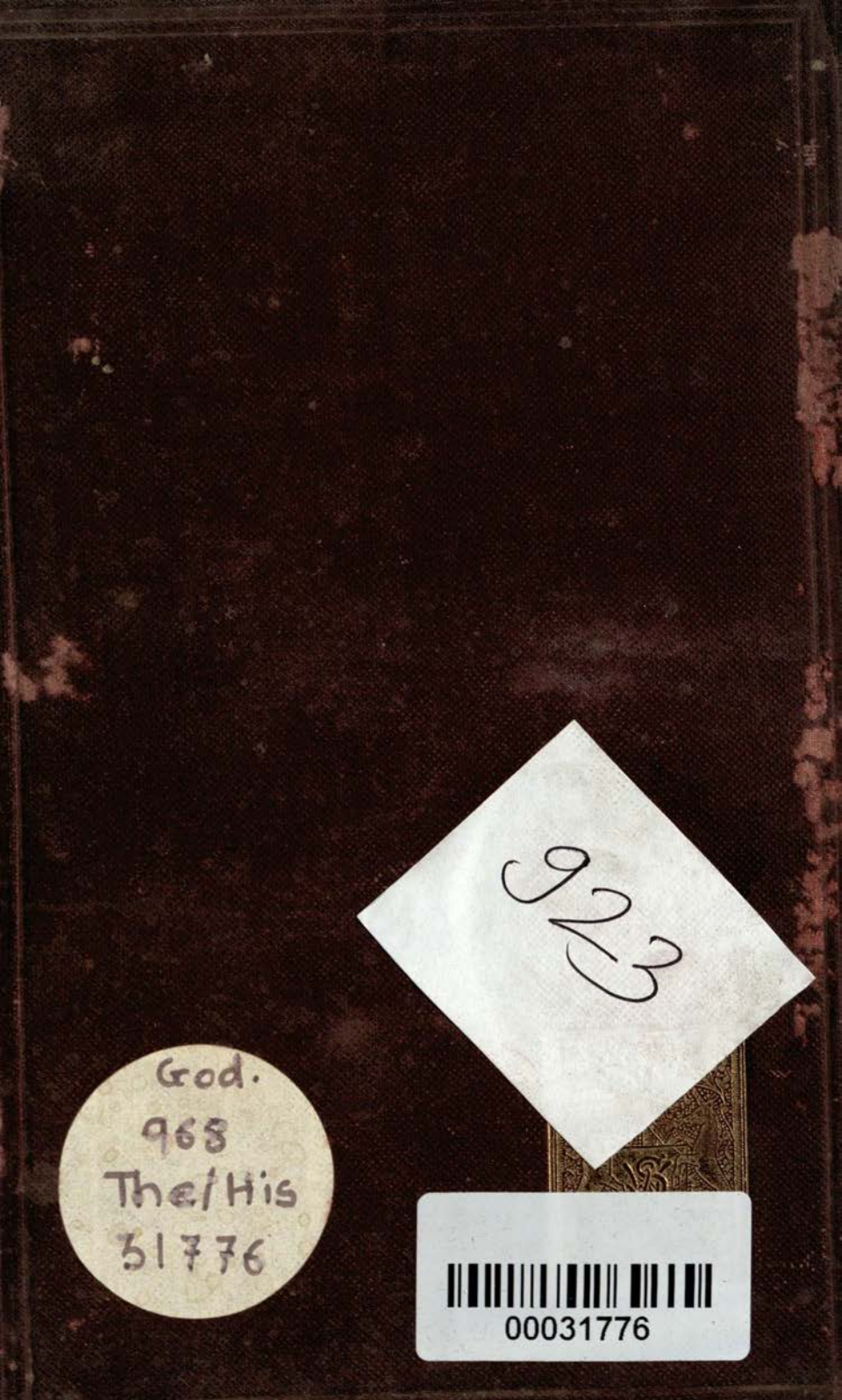
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HISTORY

OF

SOUTH AFRICA

SINCE SEPTEMBER 1795

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BY

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WITH SIXTEEN MAPS AND CHARTS

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. II.

THE CAPE COLONY FROM 1828 TO 1846, NATAL FROM 1824 TO 1845, AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE EMIGRANT FARMERS FROM 1836 TO 1847

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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

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Volume V contains a history of the Cape Colony and Natal to 1872, Griqualand West to 1880, Great Namaqualand, Damaraland, Transkei, Tembuland, and Griqualand East to 1885, Pondoland and the Portuguese Territory to 1894.

Each of these volumes is indexed and may be had separately from the others.

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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SINCE THE BRITISH CONQUEST.

CHAPTER XVII.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR GALBRAITH LOWRY COLE, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 9TH SEPTEMBER 1828, RETIRED 10TH AUGUST 1833.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL THOMAS FRANCIS WADE, ACTING GOVERNOR, 10TH AUGUST 1833 TO 16TH JANUARY 1834.

SIR LOWRY COLE was second son of the earl of Enniskillen and younger brother of Baron Grimstead. He was then fifty-six years of age. His lady was a daughter of the earl of Malmesbury, and sister of the wife of Lieutenant Colonel Bell, secretary to government. As a military officer he had served with such distinction in the peninsular war as on several occasions to have received the thanks of both houses of parliament for his eminent and gallant services.

Immediately after his arrival Sir Lowry Cole turned his attention to the eastern border, where the Kaffirs were unceasingly giving trouble. The condition of things there, though termed peace, was in truth not very different from open war.

In November 1824 a commando consisting of a troop of cavalry of the Hottentot regiment, under Captain the honourable John Massey, and a strong party of farmers under Fieldcornet Cornelis van der Nest proceeded to Makoma's kraal to make reprisals for cattle stolen from residents along the Baviaans' river. They seized four hundred and eleven head, and retired with them unmolested, as the Kaffirs were taken by surprise. Captain Massey

distributed the cattle among those who had suffered from depredations since the unsuccessful raid upon Makoma's kraal by Van der Nest in 1822.

During the night of the 22nd of December 1825 Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, with one hundred and seventy men of the Cape regiment and a party of farmers under Commandant Jan Durand, entered Kaffirland to recover stolen cattle that had been traced to the kraal of Susa, a sister of Gaika, who was associated with a daring robber named Nyoka. The principal division of the commando crossed high up the Tyumie, while a smaller division, under Captain Armstrong, crossed the Keiskama above Fort Willshire. It was intended to surprise Susa's kraal at daylight, but as there was a very thick haze Captain Armstrong's division lost the way, and came upon the kraal of the Imidange captain Botumane. The approach of the horsemen was heard, however, and an alarm was given, when most of the people fled, though some prepared to resist. A few shots were fired, but no one was hurt. Botumane then made his appearance, and the mistake was discovered. A satisfactory explanation followed, which ended by the chief's furnishing guides to Susa's kraal. The morning continuing hazy, the commando arrived there in time to seize the horned cattle, but not the horses. The cattle were driven to Fort Willshire, where soon afterwards messengers arrived from Gaika claiming some of them as that chief's property. These were given up, and after those stolen from the colony were replaced, the remainder of the herd was restored to Susa. The night after the arrival of the cattle at Fort Willshire a soldier and a white man in service there strolled to a distance, and next day both were found murdered.

Though this system of reprisal was in strict accordance with Bantu custom, it does not seem consistent with European notions of justice. But no other method of checking robbery had been devised, except the plan of keeping an open belt of country between the two races constantly patrolled by soldiers. There were not sufficient

troops on the frontier to patrol a line a fifth of the length of that from the Winterberg to the sea, consequently the other system was regarded as a necessity. Unfortunately each succeeding governor made alterations in the method of carrying it out.

Under Lord Charles Somerset its details were as follow:

When a troop of cattle was stolen from the colony, the owners applied for assistance to the nearest military post, as farmers were prohibited from crossing the boundary except under command of an English officer. A party of soldiers was then sent to follow the spoor of the cattle, the owner or one of his relatives accompanying them to identify the oxen and cows. Unless rain had fallen after the time of the theft, there was no difficulty for a practised eye to trace the spoor, and at the first kraal to which it led the cattle were demanded, or compensation for them. Sometimes the rule was to demand only an equivalent number, at other times a number equivalent in value, which might be four instead of every one stolen, Kaffir cattle being worth much less than those reared by the colonists. If the patrol succeeded in obtaining indemnification for the robbery, there was an end to that particular case.

But it seldom happened that losses could be made good in this way, and there was a constantly increasing account of unredressed depredations, until at length the authorities on the border considered it necessary to apply to the governor for leave to call out a commando and make a reprisal. If permission was given, a joint force of burghers and soldiers, under command of a military officer, marched to the kraal suspected of being most deeply implicated in the robberies, and secured compensation. Every possible precaution against the perpetration of abuses was thus taken by the government.

Still it cannot be said that the system was free of abuses. Most of the charges against patrols and commandos made by Dr. Philip and some others dwindled away upon close investigation, but a residuum was certainly left that could neither be proved nor disproved. This is certain, however,

that if real wrongs were perpetrated upon Kaffir clans by military patrols or mixed commandos, they were not regarded by the Kaffirs themselves as sufficiently serious to leave a lasting impression.* It must be remembered that from their point of view communal responsibility for the acts of individuals seems reasonable, though from ours it looks like holding the innocent accountable for the guilty.

General Bourke made a great change in the system. On the 11th of April 1826 he issued instructions that patrols were not to cross the border, unless the stolen cattle were actually in sight. On the boundary they were to stop and send word to the nearest chief, who was expected to take up the spoor and recover the animals. In a few instances the chiefs so called upon complied, and naturally got into difficulties with the kraals to which they traced the cattle. The result of General Bourke's system was a series of quarrels among the border clans and the recovery of about one head in every ten stolen.

* When the war of 1877 broke out I was sent by the government to act as diplomatic agent with Oba, son of Tyali and grandson of Gaika, and for nearly five months I was without other society than the people of his clan. I was selected for this post because Sir Bartle Frere was most anxious to keep Oba and his followers out of the strife, and it was supposed that I, being known to those people as one versed in their traditions, would have much influence with them. While fighting was going on within a few miles of us, and the sympathy of the people I was living with was entirely with their countrymen, I succeeded in inducing them to leave their homes and to move far to the westward, where they were not exposed to the temptation of joining their friends in the war. The clan of Oba, numbering about six thousand souls, was regarded by the Europeans on the frontier as exceedingly restless, and it had taken a very active part in the three preceding wars. There were many old men in it, to whom the events related in this chapter were the deeds of their early life, which they were fond of talking about. We were living near the junction of the Tyumie and Keiskama rivers, where Botumane's kraal had stood from 1829 to 1833, and our nearest neighbours were Imidange on one side and Gunukwebes on the other. Cattle-stealing from the European farmers beyond our limits had recently been rife, and no subject was more frequently discussed. Yet I never once heard of wrongs inflicted by commandos in bygone times. The question of taking the district between the Keiskama and Fish rivers from Gaika was regarded very differently, and Lord Charles Somerset's act was in their view real injustice. I believe every person who has had long and intimate dealings with the Xosas will agree with me in this matter.

In February 1829 Sir Lowry Cole made another change. Patrols were thereafter to follow the spoor as far as they could, and were to retake stolen cattle wherever they might be found, but were not to seize Kaffir cattle as compensation. Commandos, when necessary, could act as in the time of Lord Charles Somerset, except that none but cattle with colonial brand-marks on them could be retained after seizure and inspection.

At this time—February 1829—a large portion of the ceded territory was in possession of Xosa clans. Makoma occupied the valleys at the sources of the Kat river. His half-brother Tyali, left-hand son of Gaika, had taken possession of the valley of the Mankazana, a stream which flows into the Kat; and remained there without leave, though without being required to withdraw. The Imidange captain Botumane, seeing others moving in without being disturbed, had sent most of his clan across the boundary, and had taken possession of the western bank of the Tyumie from its junction with the Keiskama nearly up to the present village of Alice. The chief himself had recently followed his people. In the same way Eno, head of the principal clan of the Amambala, had appropriated to his use the land along the western bank of the Keiskama, from the Gwanga nearly up to Fort Willshire.

From the Gwanga to the sea, as far westward as the Beka, the Gunukwebes had obtained possession, mainly through the agency of the reverend William Shaw, of the Wesleyan society. In January 1824 at the desire of Major Somerset he brought about a meeting between that officer and the chiefs of the clans that adhered to Ndlambe. The conference took place on the heights above the ford of the Keiskama called Line drift. There were present the chief Ndlambe, his sons Dushane and Umkayi, with Pato and his brothers Kobe and Kama. The reverend Mr. Shaw was with them, and about three thousand warriors formed the body guards of the chiefs. Major Somerset was attended by three hundred burghers of Albany and some soldiers of the Cape regiment.

The English officers and the chiefs met unarmed midway between the two forces. On behalf of the colonial government Major Somerset agreed to abandon the system of treating with Gaika as the head of the Rarabe clans, to acknowledge Ndlambe and his adherents as independent of Gaika, to deal with them directly, and not to molest them if they chose to settle in the territory between the Buffalo and Keiskama rivers. Since 1819 Ndlambe and Dushane had been living east of the Buffalo, and had been constantly in fear of being attacked again by the colonial forces. On their part the chiefs agreed to preserve peace, to abstain from thieving, to deliver up deserters, and to surrender all stolen cattle then in possession of their people.

In August 1825 the mission station of Mount Coke, on the right bank of the Buffalo, was founded by the reverend Mr. Kay, of the Wesleyan society. The missionaries soon identified themselves with the wishes of the people among whom they were living. These wishes were that the clans should make a general movement westward. Ndlambe desired to have the country about Mount Coke to himself, Dushane to have the land towards the sea along the lower courses of the Tshalumna and the Keiskama, and Pato and his brothers to have the district between the Keiskama and Fish rivers nearly up to Fort Willshire.

These aspirations were natural, for no people become easily reconciled to the loss of territory. The district between the lower courses of the Keiskama and Fish rivers had been the home of the Gonaqua tribe as far back as tradition went; it was theirs before their blood became mixed with that of Kaffirs, and it remained theirs after they had adopted Kaffir customs and had become a Kaffir-speaking people. They had moved westward into the Zuurveld, but with a view of enlarging their borders, not with the intention of abandoning their ancient home. When Cungwa was killed in 1812, and they were driven out of the Zuurveld, they settled here again, because no one denied that the land was theirs. In 1819 Gaika, who was never their chief, gave their country to the

English governor. This was their version of the story, and in telling it, they carefully omitted to state that they had been among the most active invaders of the colony in 1819, and that they had lost the land in war, having been driven from it before the governor announced to Gaika that it was to form part of a neutral belt between the Kaffirs and the colonists.

Mr. Shaw urged the colonial government to give the Gunukwebes permission to reoccupy the district, but Lord Charles Somerset declined to put them in possession again of the jungles along the Fish river, which he considered would be an act of extreme folly. In January 1825, however, he consented to permit some temporary grazing privileges, which was the utmost that could be obtained from him. As soon as he left the colony, the missionary renewed the request, but Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset strongly opposed it. General Bourke referred the matter to Earl Bathurst, with a recommendation that the Gunukwebe clans should be allowed to occupy the lower portion of the ceded territory, and that Kaffirs should be permitted to come into the colony and take service with the British settlers.

In August 1826 the secretary of state issued directions that neither Kaffirs nor colonists should be allowed to settle in any part of the ceded territory; but when General Bourke's recommendation reached him, he so far modified these instructions as to permit the Gunukwebe chiefs to graze cattle between the Keiskama and the Beka rivers as far up as the Gwanga. This was sufficient for their purposes. Once permitted to cross the Keiskama to tend their cattle, they quickly moved in and built kraals, and in 1829 Sir Lowry Cole found that they could not be dispossessed without bloodshed.

At length an event occurred which made it necessary to bring Makoma to account. A small clan under a captain named Mtyalela had recently moved from the neighbourhood of the Umtata into the country north of the Winterberg, which was thinly occupied by the emigrant Tembus under

Bawana, son of Tshatshu. They were kinsmen of Bawana's people, but there existed a jealousy between the new-comers and those who had been some years in the territory. After a while a quarrel broke out between them and Makoma's clan on the lower side of the Winterberg. In January 1829 Makoma made a raid upon them, drove them over the boundary, and seized their cattle and killed some of their warriors on farms along the Tarka occupied by colonists. Bawana did nothing whatever to protect his kinsmen, and was even suspected by them of sharing their property with Makoma.*

The governor then directed Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset to call upon Makoma to restore to the Tembus their cattle, three thousand in number, and to retire from the ceded territory; but allowed him two months to gather his crops, which were then ripening. As he did not comply with the demand, two hundred burghers were called out to assist the soldiers, and on the 1st of May 1829 the combined force under Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, accompanied by Captain Stockenstrom, entered the district which he occupied. On the following day Captain Stockenstrom had an interview with Makoma, who professed not to know why he was to be attacked, and was ready to promise anything that was required. He denied having as many as three thousand head of cattle taken from the Tembus, but it was afterwards ascertained that he had placed them under care of the chief Eno. The conference resulted in nothing. Meantime Gaika and the minor chiefs had been assured that there was no intention of disturbing them, and they did not interfere in the matter.

* Bawana's people to the present time deny that he did so, but the suspicion led to a violent feud. A little later on Batsa, a petty captain and friend of Mtyalela, happened to meet Bawana alone and unarmed, and stabbed him to death with an assagai. In the confusion that arose, Batsa's followers seized a large herd of cattle belonging to Bawana's people, and fled with it into the territory now known as Griqualand East. To that part of the country they were speedily followed by Mtyalela's clan. These events are of little importance in Tembu history, but they once occupied the attention of a committee of the house of commons for several days.

The commando set fire to the kraals, and seized a sufficient number of cattle to compensate the Tembus; but as Makoma's people did not resist, and retired before the troops, they were not further molested. They settled between the lower course of the Tyumie and the Keiskama, and Makoma fixed his residence near the mission station of Knappshope. A military post was established in the vacated district to prevent their return.

Within a few weeks after Sir Lowry Cole's arrival in the colony he proposed to the commissioner-general to form locations of Hottentots on vacant lands near some of the villages, and also on several farms that had been reserved for the use of the landdrosts in olden times. Thousands of these people, released from all restraint by the fiftieth ordinance, were wandering about the country in a condition of vagrancy, and were regarded as a pest by owners of property. Captain Stockenstrom disapproved of the governor's plan, as locations near villages could be of no use to the Hottentots; but when it was resolved to expel Makoma from the Kat river, on the 17th of April 1829 he wrote from Uitenhage suggesting that the ground about to be cleared would be suitable for the purpose, and received a reply authorising him to carry out the scheme.

Several small streams unite to form the Kat river, and in their valleys the land is easily irrigated and is of great fertility. The plan adopted was to form a number of locations, each divided into plots of from four to six acres in extent, upon which a family was to be placed. Ground not adapted for cultivation was to remain as a commonage, each family having a right to graze cattle on it. The settlers were to remain five years on probation, at the expiration of which period those who had built cottages and brought the ground under cultivation were to receive grants in freehold, but all garden ground not improved within that time was to revert to government. The number of applicants was very great, and it was impossible to make a selection where all had equal claims. Over two thousand persons were located at the Kat

river, the majority of whom were ill qualified to occupy the position of independent landowners. Those who had been in service with farmers usually had a few cattle, but many of the others had no means whatever. They set to work enthusiastically, however, and in a short time the settlement was in a fairly flourishing condition. The government supplied seed corn. Watercourses were made, and a large extent of ground was placed under cultivation, some of the richer settlers assisting the poorer, though others derived their principal sustenance from the wild fruits of the earth.

In the course of a few years it was ascertained that the pure Hottentots were incapable of sustaining such efforts for any length of time, but meanwhile the prospects seemed highly encouraging to the friends of humanity. There was a considerable number of halfbreeds among those to whom plots of ground were assigned, and they formed an element of comparative stability. The settlement was intended to draw away some of the people from the London missionary society's stations, which were regarded by the government as politically dangerous institutions; but Dr. Philip, who had recently returned to South Africa, perceived the design, and counteracted it by sending the reverend James Read from Bethelsdorp to reside at the Kat river. Sir Lowry Cole then directed the reverend Mr. Thomson to remove from Tyumie to the new settlement, and the office of government agent with the Xosas was abolished. Mr. Thomson was desired to reside at a place which the missionaries Ross and M'Diarmid had named Balfour, in honour of the first secretary of the Glasgow society, when in March 1828 they tried to form a station there with Makoma's people. The governor thought that by providing an able and zealous clergyman at the public expense, the London society's agent would be obliged to withdraw, and interference by Dr. Philip be prevented; but he was mistaken. Mr. Read remained in the settlement, and the mission then established is still in existence. The halfbreeds attached themselves to Mr. Thomson, and a congregation was formed which shortly afterwards

joined the Dutch reformed communion and has ever since been connected with that church.

The chief difficulty that the Hottentots at the Kat river had to contend against was depredations by the Kaffirs, for these people found their way in by night, and drove off all cattle that were not strictly guarded. To enable them to defend themselves, the government supplied them with muskets and ammunition, greatly to the alarm of the frontier colonists, who feared that these weapons might be used as in the troubles at the beginning of the century. This alarm gained strength when it became known that Kaffirs of the clans opposed to Gaika were fraternising with the Hottentots and settling among them. But no disturbance of the peace took place for many years.

A census at the close of 1833 showed the population of the settlement at the Kat river to consist of two thousand one hundred and eighty-five halfbreeds and Hottentots and seven hundred and thirty-one Kaffirs. The Hottentots had in their possession two hundred and thirty horses, two thousand four hundred and forty-four head of horned cattle, and four thousand nine hundred and sixty-six sheep. To that time there was no magistrate nearer than Grahamstown, but Major Armstrong, the commandant of the military post, was then created a special justice of the peace.

In July 1828, with the concurrence of the imperial authorities, an ordinance was issued by the acting governor in council, permitting Kaffirs seeking service to enter the colony, but requiring them to obtain passes from the fieldcornet or justice of the peace nearest the border. Hereupon numerous Kaffirs came over the boundary, professing to seek employment, but in most instances to wander about begging and looking for opportunities to steal. After a while depredations became so frequent that the frontier colonists were brought into a state of panic.

On the 25th of August 1829 Sir Lowry Cole suspended the ordinance for the admission of Kaffir servants, and instructed the officials to apprehend all who were wandering about without

proper passes. He then hastened to the frontier. Upon investigation he ascertained that upwards of five thousand head of cattle had been stolen from colonists within five months, that only fifteen hundred head had been recovered by patrols, and that many individuals had been reduced to actual want.

He expressed regret at the error that had been committed of allowing Kaffirs to occupy part of the ceded territory again, thus bringing them within easy reach of the jungles along the Fish river. With the chiefs of the clans in that district he had a conference, when he informed them that he was determined not to tolerate robberies any longer, and warned them that if they did not prevent their followers from stealing he would act with them as he had acted with Makoma. They protested that they were doing all they could to suppress thefts, but said that among their people were evil-disposed men who would not obey them. This is a common excuse with Kaffir chiefs to Europeans. The governor, however, had made himself acquainted with their customs, and was aware that if they were really in earnest not an ox could be brought into the territory without their knowing all about it. He did not attempt to argue with them, therefore, but replied that he had said sufficient, and would merely repeat for the last time that cattle-stealing must be suppressed or the clans would be expelled without further notice. The chiefs saw that the governor was not to be trifled with, and found such means to restrain robbery that for several months it nearly ceased.

To overawe the Gunukwebes Sir Lowry selected a site for a military post at Gwalana, near the place where in 1821 Sir Rufane Donkin had tried to establish the village which he named Fredericksburg. The buildings were constructed under Colonel Somerset's superintendence, and in March 1830 a small body of troops was stationed there.

The portion of the ceded territory that was not occupied by Kaffirs and Hottentots the governor resolved to allot to Europeans under military tenure. On the 2nd of August 1830 a notice was issued in which the conditions were

announced in general terms, and applications for farms were invited. The commissioner-general was instructed to make a careful selection from the applicants, so as to get a body of trustworthy and able men on the ground. The farms were to be given free of charge or rent. The grantees were to occupy them in person, and to maintain a number of able-bodied Europeans capable of bearing arms, in proportion to the extent of the ground, so that a farm of the ordinary size of three thousand morgen would have at least four men upon it. The use of slave labour was prohibited. On these conditions Captain Stockenstrom issued grants between the Koonap and Fish rivers below the Hottentot settlement to about a hundred individuals selected indiscriminately from the families of old colonists and recent British settlers, no other distinction than that of personal qualification being regarded.

Under this system the settlement of the border was being effected in a manner that has since been proved well adapted to the requirements of the country, when a despatch from the secretary of state put a stop to it. The mind of Lord Goderich had been poisoned by the calumnies concerning the old colonists poured into English ears ever since the publication of Barrow's book, and on the 26th of May 1831 he issued directions that Dutch farmers were to be excluded from the ceded territory. English settlers and Hottentots might be located there, but the ground was to be sold, not given to them. These instructions were followed in August by others that no crown lands in any part of the colony were to be alienated except by sale at public auction, and that one of the conditions of the sale should be the exclusion of slave labour. The governor attempted to induce the secretary of state to reconsider this decision, but without success. Consequently, on the 17th of May 1832 a notice was issued that thereafter crown lands would not be given out on quitrent, but would be offered for sale by public auction, after an upset price had been placed upon them.

The position of the press in the colony was still very precarious. By Earl Bathurst's instructions the *South African Commercial Advertiser* was being published under a license

from the governor in council, which could be cancelled at any time. The rival newspaper had ceased to exist. On the 24th of May 1826 an extract from the London *Times* appeared in the *Commercial Advertiser*, relating to an official of the Cape government who had appropriated public money to his own use, and who was alleged to have been very harshly and unjustly treated by Lord Charles Somerset in consequence thereof. To an ordinary reader there was nothing to show that this extract was not an original article. It came to the eye of Lord Charles Somerset in London, who drew Earl Bathurst's attention to it, and produced original documents showing it to be incorrect. Earl Bathurst thereupon—3rd of December 1826 — sent instructions to General Bourke to withdraw Mr. Greig's license.

On the 10th of May 1827 the *Commercial Advertiser* was suppressed for the second time. Mr. Greig then put out a handbill giving notice that he intended to publish an advertisement sheet, and wrote to the secretary to government asking whether it would require to be stamped. He received a reply that he must not carry out his project before obtaining a license. On the 13th he waited upon General Bourke with the proof of his intended paper, which he proposed to publish twice a week. The acting governor informed him that he must make a regular application for a license, which would be granted provided he would engage that the paper should contain neither political discussion nor private scandal, but advertisements only. Mr. Greig declined to make the application, and did not issue the proposed sheet.

On the same day a memorial signed by many of the principal merchants in Capetown was sent to General Bourke, requesting leave to hold a public meeting for the purpose of taking into consideration the circumstances attending the suppression of the *Commercial Advertiser*. The acting governor submitted the memorial to the council, by whose advice he declined to grant the permission requested.

Mr. Fairbairn, the editor of the paper, then proceeded to England to endeavour to have the press liberated from the

control of the executive branch of the government, and made subject only to the courts of law. General Bourke was in favour of this measure, and wrote to Earl Bathurst, recommending a free press with a law of libel.

None of the successive secretaries of state, however, before Sir George Murray would consent to modify the system under which periodical journals could be published at the Cape. From Sir George Murray Mr. Fairbairn obtained leave to resume the issue of his paper, with a promise that the press should be freed from the control of the governor and council, upon which he hastened back to South Africa, and on the 3rd of October 1828 the *Commercial Advertiser* appeared again.

In January 1829 the secretary of state transmitted to Sir Lowry Cole a draft ordinance for the regulation of the press, with instructions to have it published in the name of the governor in council. This was done on the 30th of April. The ordinance provided that the names of editors, printers, publishers, and proprietors, with their places of abode and other particulars, must be recorded on oath at the office of the secretary to government, under penalty of a fine of £100 for every paper sold or delivered without such registration; that a copy of each paper must be furnished to the secretary to government; that the publisher must bind himself in the sum of £300, and furnish other security to the same amount, to pay any fines inflicted upon him by a court of justice for blasphemous or seditious libel; and that conviction for a libel tending to bring the government of the colony into contempt should debar any person from editing, printing, or publishing a newspaper in the colony again.

This law now appears stringent, but in those days it was regarded as sufficiently liberal to meet all reasonable requirements. It removed from the government the power of interfering with the press, and referred to the judges of the supreme court the decision whether matter was libellous or not. Shortly after the ordinance was issued, quite a number of newspapers and other periodicals sprang into existence,

but most of them were short-lived. Two newspapers, however, remain to the present day: the *Zuid Afrikaan*, partly in Dutch and partly in English (now incorporated with *Ons Land* and wholly in Dutch), which was commenced in Capetown on the 9th of April 1830, and the *Grahamstown Journal*, a purely English sheet, the first number of which appeared on the 30th of December 1831.

During the government of Sir Lowry Cole greater changes took place in the appearance of Capetown than during any previous period of equal length since the erection of the castle.

Most of the old fortifications had become useless through recent improvements in artillery, and in 1827 the imperial authorities resolved to dismantle some and remove others. Those condemned as not worth maintaining were the redoubt Kyk-in-de-Pot and the whole of the fortifications and lines along the beach between the castle and Craig's tower, except Fort Knokke. Most of these structures had been familiar to the oldest residents from childhood. Orders were at the same time issued that the barrack at Muizenburg and the batteries at Camp's Bay, Three Anchor Bay, Hout Bay, and Mouille Point should be dismantled.

On the 25th of November 1824 a meeting was held in Capetown, when it was resolved to attempt to build a church and form a Scotch presbyterian congregation, and Earl Bathurst was applied to through the governor for aid. On the 30th of April 1825 the secretary of state authorised Lord Charles Somerset to contribute one-third of the cost of the building and to allow the clergyman £100 a year from the colonial treasury. Subscriptions were then collected by those interested in the undertaking, but a couple of years passed by before the promoters saw their way clear to make a commencement with the edifice. On the 24th of October 1827 the foundation stone of the church on St. Andrew's square was laid by Major-General Bourke, and on the 24th of May 1829 the building was opened for divine worship. A very pleasing occurrence after the first service was the

presentation of £75 towards the building fund by a deputation from the Dutch reformed church. The reverend Dr. James Adamson was the first pastor. He arrived from Scotland on the 11th of November 1827, when the Lutheran congregation kindly gave the use of their church to hold service in until the building then just commenced should be completed.

On the 26th of October 1829 the foundation stone of the Wesleyan chapel in Burg-street—now known as the metropolitan hall—was laid, and on the 13th of February 1831 the building was opened for public worship.

The members of the English episcopal communion made use of the Dutch reformed church until December 1834. In 1824 they proposed to erect a building for themselves, and appointed a committee to ascertain how many persons would engage to rent pews, their plan being to raise money on loan. But this scheme did not meet with sufficient support. In October 1827 the bishop of Calcutta called at the Cape, when General Bourke granted about an acre of ground in the lower part of the government garden, which the bishop consecrated. A subscription list was then opened for the purpose of building a church, but only a trifle over £2,000 being promised, the design was again abandoned. The secretary of state having promised pecuniary aid, in August 1829 it was resolved at a meeting of the members to try to raise a portion of the capital in shares, to be repaid from pew rents, and two hundred and fifty shares of £25 each being taken, on the 1st of September of that year an ordinance of the governor in council was issued, giving legal sanction to the plan, and granting £5,000 from the colonial treasury towards the building fund. On the 23rd of April 1830 the foundation stone of the church—which was named St. George's—was laid by Sir Lowry Cole. On the following day, at the request of the trustees of the new building, the street upon which it was to face was renamed by the governor St. George's-street. It had borne the name of Berg-street for more than one hundred and forty years.

The church was opened for public worship on the 21st of December 1834, though it was not then completed. The whole of the £11,500 had been expended, and £2,000 more were required to finish the tower and the internal fittings.

The old Dutch reformed church was too small to accommodate the congregation, and it was therefore resolved to erect another in a different part of the town. Some money was raised by subscription, and on the 18th of April 1833 the foundation stone of the church in Bree-street was laid by Sir Lowry Cole. Delays, however, took place, and the building was not opened for worship until the 27th of October 1847.

A great many dwelling houses were erected, or rebuilt in modern styles. During a heavy gale from the 16th to the 18th of July 1831 six ships were driven ashore in Table Bay, happily without loss of life; but their cargoes, valued at £40,000, were destroyed. This disaster led to the government undertaking the construction of a stone pier from which anchors and cables could be conveyed to ships in danger of parting. The only wharf at this time was one close to the castle, that had been built by the Dutch East India Company in the most convenient place for its purposes, though it was so far to leeward in winter gales that boats could not reach the anchorage from it. The work on the new pier, which was at the foot of Bree-street, was suspended in 1833 by order of the secretary of state; on the ground of deficiency of revenue; but in the mean time, in anticipation of its becoming the principal place for landing and shipping goods, several large stores were built in its neighbourhood, and there was a gradual shifting of business from the lower part of the town.

After April 1831 St. George's-street was lit on dark nights with oil lamps, provided and maintained by subscription of the householders. Many of the best residences were in the gardens in the upper part of the valley, but the Heerengracht was still the most fashionable part of the town, though much of it was occupied with shops, the

society or club house, the leading hotel, and what was termed a coffee house. Respectable females who went out in the evening were usually carried in a sedan chair, and a slave walked in front with a lantern. Early hours were kept, and very few people of the better classes remained out after nine.

At this time savings banks were established in the colony. There was previously a department of the government bank open for the reception of small sums of money, and this was termed the savings bank branch; but in principle it did not differ from the other depositing branch. At a meeting held in the commercial hall on the 22nd of November 1830, resolutions were adopted in favour of the formation of savings banks on the same principle as those in England, and a committee was appointed to carry out the project. The government approved of the design, and on the 8th of June 1831 an ordinance was issued legalising it. On the 25th of the same month the first savings bank, properly so called, commenced to receive deposits in an office in St. George's-street, and thereafter it was open every Saturday evening from five to seven o'clock and every Tuesday from eleven to one. Interest was allowed at the rate of four per cent. In a very short time branches were formed at the different seats of magistracy, and were found to be of great service to the poorer classes of the people.

In March 1831 an association termed the South African fire and life assurance company was founded, with a subscribed capital of £30,000, and its office was opened in Capetown. It was the first company of the kind formed in the colony, though there were several agencies of English insurance offices.

A mark of advancement in another direction was the establishment of the South African college. On the 14th of October 1828 there was a meeting of heads of families in the vestry room of the Dutch reformed church in Capetown, when a discussion took place upon the advisability of providing better means for the education of lads than the

government free schools offered. No decision as to the method of meeting the want was arrived at, but a committee was appointed to frame a design and ascertain if sufficient funds could be raised. The gentlemen who formed this committee were Sir John Truter, late chief justice, the reverend Messrs. A. Faure, G. Hough, J. Kloek van Staveren, and Dr. Adamson, of the Dutch reformed, English episcopal, Lutheran, and Scotch churches, Mr. W. F. Hertzog, assistant surveyor general, and Mr. F. L. Mabille, a merchant in Capetown. Advocate Johannes de Wet and Mr. D. Hertzog acted as secretaries.

After much deliberation and inquiry the committee resolved to endeavour to obtain a capital of £2,500 in shares of £10 each, which should entitle the owners to have their sons educated at a lower charge than others, and to employ the interest of this capital and fees for tuition in paying the salaries of professors and teachers. A prospectus was issued on the 23rd of March 1829, and the required amount having been subscribed, on the 4th of June a meeting of the shareholders was held, when fifteen of their number were elected to form a board of directors. The guardians of the orphan asylum, having more accommodation than they needed, offered a portion of their building free of rent for six years. A contribution of £50 a year was promised from the masonic education fund, and was paid until 1846.

On the 1st of October 1829 the college was opened with about a hundred students. The first professors were the reverend Messrs. Faure, Judge, and Adamson, who gave instruction in Dutch and English literature, classics, and mathematics. There was also a teacher of French, Mr. Swaving* by name, and a gentleman named Woodward assisted in teaching general subjects. The college received no aid from the colonial treasury until March 1834, when a

*Of a good family in the Netherlands and well educated, he was sent from England by the secretary of state as Dutch interpreter in the supreme court, but owing to some peculiarity of accent his Dutch was nearly unintelligible to the colonists.

subsidy of £200 a year was granted, and after that date two of the directors were appointed by government.

On the 21st of December 1837 an ordinance was issued establishing the college on a legal foundation. It provided that the council should consist of seventeen members, fifteen of whom were to be elected by the subscribers and the remaining two were to be government nominees. Ten were to retire every year, when successors were to be chosen. There were to be at least four professors, namely one of classics and English literature, one of modern languages and Dutch literature, one of physical sciences, and one of mathematics. A senate for the regulation of instruction and discipline was to be composed of the professors and two directors elected by the council. The government was to have the right of nominating five free students when the number of paying students was under fifty, and ten when the paying students exceeded fifty. The whole of the property belonging to the old Latin school, which had recently been administered by the bible and school commission, was transferred by the ordinance to the college council.

The next event of importance connected with this institution was a bequest for educational purposes. On the 21st of February 1845 there died in Edinburgh a gentleman named Henry Murray, who had been a merchant in Capetown during the early years of the century, but who left the colony in June 1817 and returned to Scotland. He was of a benevolent disposition, and his wife was childless. In his will he set apart a sum of five thousand pounds sterling, the interest on which was to be drawn by his widow until her death, when the principal was to be paid to the treasurer and finance committee of the South African college "to form a fund for the gratuitous admission of such number of youths as the annual proceeds of the sum realised would afford to partake of and enjoy all the privileges and advantages the different classes professed to bestow, free of any charge or fees whatever, and that for such period or

number of years as might usually be occupied in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the various branches taught therein." He further made known his wishes "that of the candidates for admission on this bequest those only be chosen from among the less affluent portion of the colonists, and the sons or descendants of the old Dutch settlers to have the preference." The vacancies as they occurred were to be publicly advertised under the title of Murray's Gift at least two months previous to the day of election, and the boys approved of were to be subject in all respects to the ordinary regulations of the college.* The first scholarships under this generous and useful bequest were allotted in December 1857.

Mr. Murray must have retained pleasant remembrances of the Cape and the colonists, for after some legacies to relatives and friends, he directed the trustees named in his will "to pay and make over the whole residue and remainder of his means and estate, heritable and movable, real and personal, in favour of the secretary and directors of the orphan house, Capetown, Cape of Good Hope, who were declared to be his residuary legatees, but in trust always for behoof of the said charitable institution." The amount received by the orphan asylum from this bequest was £3,300.

The increase of population in the Cape district made it desirable to establish a village at Zwartland's church. The first building lots there were offered for sale on the 10th of November 1828, and found ready purchasers. On the 21st of May 1829 the governor named the new village Malmesbury, in honour of his father-in-law.

In 1829 two congregations of the Dutch reformed church were established, making thirteen centres of religious instruction for the old colonists more than had existed in 1810, when there were only seven in all.

*An attested copy of Mr. Murray's will, from which these extracts have been made, is filed in the office of the master of the supreme court in Capetown.

One of these was at Glen Lynden, the place where the Scotch settlers of 1820 were located. The reverend John Pears was sent out by the secretary of state to minister to these people, but upon his arrival in May 1829 he found that most of them had gone to reside in other parts of the country. There were many Dutch people in the neighbourhood, however, and several of them attended the services. On the 17th of July 1829 elders and deacons were approved by the governor for the congregation of Glen Lynden, which was Scotch in name only. Mr. Pears found it necessary to learn Dutch, and soon began to preach in that language, as did his successor, the reverend Alexander Welsh. Then the necessary formalities were gone through to have the congregation represented in a presbytery and in the synod of the Dutch reformed church. In April 1838 the foundation stone of a place of worship was laid on the bank of the Koonap river, where the village of Adelaide now stands. It was intended as a branch of Glen Lynden, but it proved to be a much better centre than the other, and in consequence the clergyman went to reside there, though the congregation retained its old name, and does so still.

The other congregation was formed at Wynberg on the 2nd of September 1829, by the governor's approval of elders and deacons selected by the consistory of Capetown. The reverend Abraham Faure shortly afterwards became consulent, and acted as such until 1834, when the reverend Philip Faure became resident minister, though his salary was not paid by government until the beginning of 1839. In September 1832 a place of worship was opened for use which forms part of the present church.

Sir Lowry Cole was extremely desirous of facilitating the means of communication between different parts of the colony, but there was no money in the treasury that could be used for this purpose. Without good roads, he wrote, the country could never become prosperous. Major Michell, the surveyor-general, having occasion to go over the Hottentots-Holland mountains, was instructed by the governor to

inspect the road carefully, and report whether it could not be made safe at a moderate outlay. There were two other passages through the first great barrier to the interior: one, the French Hoek road, constructed by order of Lord Charles Somerset, the other, the old road through the Tulbagh kloof. But the passage over the Hottentots-Holland mountains was so much more direct for people living along the southern coast, that in their intercourse with Capetown they almost invariably used it, even at the risk of having their waggons broken and their cattle killed.

Major Michell reported that at an expense of about £7,000 a perfectly safe road, with easy gradients, could be made. Upon this, the governor gave instructions for the work to be undertaken, and wrote to the secretary of state that he was confident the cost would soon be repaid by a toll. In reply, Sir George Murray declined to sanction it or any other public work whatever while the revenue of the colony was insufficient to meet the ordinary expenditure, and threatened to surcharge the governor with the expense already incurred. The principal merchants of Capetown then offered to guarantee the governor against personal loss; but the secretary of state, upon further representations of the great utility of the road, was induced to allow it to be made. Practically it was constructed with borrowed money, as the deficiency of the revenue was made good by drawing upon the capital of the bank, and thus increasing the public debt.

The new road cost £7,011. It was opened for traffic by Major Michell on the 6th of July 1830, and was named Sir Lowry's Pass, amid the acclamations of a large number of people who had assembled to see a train of heavily laden waggons go over it, which they did with the greatest ease. The road was subsequently continued through Houwhoek. A toll was placed upon it, which more than realised the governor's expectations.

The expenditure of the colony continued to be in excess of the revenue, though in June 1828 the imperial government

took over the charge of the Cape mounted riflemen. General Bourke balanced his accounts by drawing upon the capital of the loan bank, and Sir Lowry Cole was obliged to do the same. Lord Goderich attempted to rectify this by retrenchment. In May 1831 he issued instructions that various offices, with salaries attached to them amounting altogether to £3,718 a year, were to be summarily abolished. As other situations became vacant, they were to be filled by men with reduced salaries, or two posts were to be blended into one. The first of these orders was carried out, but the operation of the second was so slow that a succeeding secretary of state was obliged to adopt a more decisive measure. An account of this will be given in another chapter.

For some time past the northern border of the colony had been subject to the ravages of a band of miscreants, who had their stronghold on the islands in the Orange river between Olivenhoutdrift and the great falls. For about seventy miles the river passes through a flat varying from one to seven or eight miles broad. This valley or bottom is filled with dense thickets, and from very few spots on either side is water visible. The river, however, hidden by the jungle, winds through it, and there are also smaller water courses branching off from and rejoining the main stream. During the greater part of the year the river is in flood, and then these streams are almost innumerable and frequently change their beds. The jungle is thus cut up into a multitude of islands, many of considerable size, some of which can only be reached by crossing four or five rapid unfordable torrents. These islands contain a great deal of pasturage, so that stock can be hidden in them most effectually. Honey also abounds, and fish is tolerably plentiful.

At the beginning of the century these islands were the retreat of the notorious robber captain Afrikaner, but he and his followers had long since abandoned them and gone to reside in Great Namaqualand. In his old age Afrikaner

came under the influence of missionaries, and led a reformed life; but his son Jonker continued to follow the career of a marauder. Jonker's ravages, however, being chiefly directed against the Damaras, far away to the northward, he was almost lost sight of in the Cape Colony. Between him and the occupants of the islands in 1830 there was no connection whatever.

The leader of the later robber band was a Hottentot named Stuurman, who had in earlier years been connected with one of the Griqua settlements. His followers were chiefly Koranas and Griquas, but among them were several fugitive slaves and desperadoes of mixed blood. He was perfectly indifferent as to whom he robbed, for he attacked indiscriminately the Batlapin in the north, the farmers of the colony in the south, and the Griquas under the captain Andries Waterboer in the east, whichever at any time seemed most likely to furnish spoil.

His custom was to send out parties of fifty to seventy men, well mounted and armed, who appeared suddenly where they were not expected, and slaughtered all who attempted to prevent their driving away the cattle. In one year there were more than thirty reports from the civil commissioner of Graaff-Reinet detailing their atrocities. It is needless, however, to relate the whole of these, as they were all similar in character, and an account of one or two will therefore be sufficient.

In August 1832 a strong party made a sudden raid into the Nieuwveld, and found several graziers with their families and cattle near Slangfontein. They drove off all the stock, and murdered three colonists named Faber, Van der Merwe, and Steenkamp, as also Van der Merwe's wife. A commando of farmers, under the civil commissioner Van Ryneveld, followed them as soon as possible, but found them so well prepared for defence that after a harassing campaign of six weeks, during which the colonists underwent the severest hardships and privations, the commando was obliged to return unsuccessful.

In September 1833 a band of about seventy of the robbers made a swoop upon the farm of Jacob Swart at the Hantam, murdered three men and one woman, wounded four others, and carried off eight children with the flocks and herds. A party of forty-five white men and halfbreeds was got together by Commandant J. N. Redelinghuys, and by riding for forty-four hours as hard as horses could carry them, they overtook Stuurman's gang while yet a long way from the river. An engagement followed, in which a colonist—Mr. J. J. Louw—lost his life; but six of the robbers were killed. The others then fled, leaving seven of the children, the whole of the cattle, two of their horses, and three muskets behind. What became of the other child could not be ascertained, and it was supposed that it must have died or been left on the road to perish. The men and the horses of the commando being alike exhausted, it was impossible to continue the pursuit.

Along the whole of the extensive northern border there was not a single soldier or a policeman, and there was no possibility of furnishing a defensive force of any kind. To meet the ordinary expenditure of the colony, paper money created as capital for the bank was being drawn upon year after year, so that there were no means of affording assistance to the farmers who were exposed to Stuurman's depredations.

Under these circumstances on the 6th of June 1833 an ordinance—No. 99—was issued by the governor in council to amend the commando law. It was always difficult to get men to leave their regular occupations and take the field, where neither honour nor profit was to be had, and where great hardships must be endured. Unless they were personally affected by the occurrence for which their services were demanded, they were apt to make excuses and to question the authority of the district officials. To meet cases of this kind a proclamation was issued by Lord Macartney, empowering landdrosts and other magistrates to call out burghers for military service, but without defining penalties

for disobedience. This proclamation was the commando law until June 1833. The ordinance No. 99 gave to civil commissioners, justices of the peace, commandants, provisional commandants, fieldcornets, and provisional fieldcornets power to call out burghers in cases of necessity, and fixed the penalties at a fine from £5 to £20 for the first and a similar fine together with three months' imprisonment for every subsequent refusal.

This ordinance met with strenuous opposition from Dr. Philip and from the party in England that supported him. The *Commercial Advertiser*, which was the organ of that party in Capetown, endeavoured to make it appear that the new law empowered a provisional fieldcornet to levy war upon the native tribes, and the ability with which that newspaper was conducted gave great weight to its views. It was at this time advocating a system of dealing with the tribes beyond the colony exactly as if they were civilised European powers, and laid it down as a principle that the governor should meet chiefs like Makoma upon a footing of the most perfect equality. The colonists who thought differently, and especially the colonial government, were frequently taken to task for not treating the coloured people with justice, or what Mr. Fairbairn, the editor, regarded as justice.

In England pressure was brought upon the secretary of state to advise the king to disallow the ordinance No. 99. In April 1833 Mr. E. G. Stanley succeeded Lord Goderich at the colonial office, and he referred the matter to Sir Lowry Cole for explanation. The governor did not consider the commando system a desirable one, but under the circumstances of the country he regarded it as "the only possible means to prevent or punish incursions into the colonial territory." With regard to the alleged unjust treatment of the coloured people, he observed that "it might suit the views of some writers to hold up the local government and the colonists to the detestation of mankind, as the authors and abettors of a system of the most diabolical atrocities,

and to represent the native tribes as the most injured and innocent of human beings; but those who had the opportunity of taking a dispassionate view of the subject would judge differently."

In the condition of public opinion in England, however, the secretary of state had hardly a choice when a question was agitated by the leaders of the missionary and philanthropic societies, and on the 27th of November 1833 Mr. Stanley informed the Cape government that the ordinance No. 99 and Lord Macartney's proclamation also were disallowed from the 1st of August 1834.

Sir Lowry Cole was desirous of returning to England for reasons concerning his family, and in 1831 he requested leave of absence, which was granted by Lord Goderich. But upon further consideration, the governor expressed a wish to retire altogether, and the secretary of state gave him permission to transfer the duty to the senior military officer, if a successor should not arrive by February 1833. Major-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban, then governor of Demerara, was appointed to take his place; but that officer was unable to proceed to the Cape at once. After waiting until the 10th of August 1833, Sir Lowry Cole with his family embarked in the merchant ship *La Belle Alliance*, then ready to sail for England, and Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Francis Wade became acting governor. On the 16th of January 1834 the ship *Mount Stuart Elphinstone* arrived in Table Bay, bringing as passengers Sir Benjamin, Lady, and Miss D'Urban, and the celebrated astronomer Sir John Herschel, with his lady, son, and two daughters. On the same day the new governor took the oaths of office.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 16TH JANUARY 1834; DISMISSED 20TH JANUARY 1838.

SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN was the first English governor of the Cape Colony who was without powerful family connections. His father was a commoner, and his relatives had little or no influence with those in whose hands lay patronage. He owed his position to merit alone. He had served through the peninsular war as commander of a division of cavalry in the Anglo-Lusitanian legion, and since the fall of Napoleon had been employed chiefly in the West Indies. In 1815 he was made a knight commander of the bath, and in February 1831 received the civil appointment of governor of Demerara. When sent as governor to the Cape Colony his military rank was only that of a major-general. He was a man of ability, and still more of honesty of purpose, who did what he believed to be right regardless of consequences to himself. Benevolent in disposition, he came to this country impressed with the belief, then common in England, that the coloured people were harshly dealt with by the Europeans, and that a better relationship to the border tribes could be brought about by kindness and confidence.

The new governor was sent to South Africa to carry out the views of the ministry of the day with regard to several important matters.

1. The civil establishments were to be greatly reduced, and such retrenchment was to be effected as would not only bring the revenue within the expenditure, but leave a balance to be applied to the gradual extinction of the public debt.

2. The system of dealing with the Kaffirs was to be altered, and a policy of conciliation by means of alliances with the chiefs be entered upon.

3. The emancipation of the slaves in accordance with imperial legislation for the purpose was to be carried into effect.

The financial condition of the country at the time was extremely bad. From the conquest of the colony in 1806 to the close of the year 1835 the public revenue remained almost stationary, notwithstanding the large increase of quitrents, the imposition of a poll tax and taxes upon incomes, servants, and carriages, and the addition in January 1828 of the local revenue of Capetown and the district revenues, previously collected and administered by the burgher senate and the boards of landdrost and heemraden. Several causes contributed to this.

1. All taxes which were fixed in rixdollars and stivers, such as land rents and stamps, though nominally increasing in amount, decreased in value as the paper money fell.

2. The sale of the exclusive privilege to retail wines and spirits was done away with in Capetown at the beginning of 1824, and in the remainder of the colony at the beginning of 1828. In its stead licenses were issued as at present, at £112 10s. a year for each house approved of in Capetown, and at variable rates in other places. In consequence, the revenue from this source fell off greatly. The licenses were written on stamped paper, and the proceeds were carried to the account of stamps.

3. The commando tax was only imposed from 1811 to 1830.

4. The system of business introduced by English merchants diminished the auction dues.

5. The reduction of the garrison after the fall of Napoleon caused some branches of the revenue to decline.

6. The duty on wine entering Capetown and Simonstown fell off with the decline of the wine trade, and was abolished altogether from the 1st of January 1835.

The state of the revenue and expenditure was not permitted to be made known to the colonists until 1831, except from such returns as were called for in the imperial parliament or were included in the reports of the commissioners of inquiry. There was consequently a vague impression that the revenue was much greater than the government knew it to be. In October 1831 Lord Goderich authorised the publication in the *Gazette* of periodical statements for the information of the taxpayers, which set the question at rest.

The various items of revenue are given in the following table, which shows the average yearly amounts during successive periods. Before 1826 they have been reduced to English money according to the current rates of exchange. The district and town taxes together with all the small taxes recently imposed are included in the item

AVERAGE YEARLY REVENUE.

—	1806 to 1814.	1815 to 1819.	1820 to 1825.	1826 to 1830.	1831 to 1835.
	£	£	£	£	£
Customs duties	16,103	27,377	24,353	20,183	17,616
Auction dues	16,924	15,650	14,722	10,853	10,948
Stamps	9,235	13,854	12,650	14,789	16,517
Transfer dues on land sales	5,735	11,239	9,003	6,520	7,876
Interest from loan and discount bank	9,098	11,042	11,090	9,847	8,430
Fees of office	4,466	7,991	8,362	4,882	4,985
Land rents	14,166	7,702	10,643	4,856	4,223
Taxes paid at the barriers on grain, wine, and spirits entering Capetown and Simonstown	5,217	5,039	4,877	3,441	3,935
Port dues	715	1,433	1,146	1,129	1,451
Postage	726	1,119	2,039	3,002	3,812
Tolls	480	927	98	—	1,989
Sale of exclusive privilege to retail wines and spirits	13,715	12,559	14,850	4,175	—
Commando tax	1,361	4,538	3,528	4,774	—
Receipts of printing office	1,500	1,664	1,665	543	—
Miscellaneous	2,067	2,258	4,319	27,222	37,770
Total	101,508	124,392	123,345	116,216	119,552

miscellaneous. The land rents are incorrect, because in the accounts of the treasury at that time arrears were included in the miscellaneous receipts.

The expenditure after 1823 was constantly in excess of the revenue, and was provided for either by loans or by drawing upon the capital of the bank. From the private fund of the orphan chamber a sum of £12,500 was appropriated. The Hottentot regiment cost the colony about £17,000 a year until June 1828, after which time this charge was borne by the imperial treasury. Much the greater part of the revenue was absorbed by the civil, judicial, and ecclesiastical establishments; but schools had to be provided for, the leper asylum at Hemel en Aarde and the hospital in Capetown had to be maintained, the public buildings, the road between Capetown and Simonstown, that through the Drakenstein mountains at French Hoek, and Sir Lowry's pass over the Hottentots-Holland mountains required to be kept in repair, and various other expenses could not be avoided.

On the 31st of December 1835 the public debt of the colony was £264,768.

The laws regarding commerce underwent many changes between 1806 and 1835. By an act of the imperial parliament, passed in April 1806, and subsequently renewed for prolonged periods, the regulation of trade to and from the Cape Colony was entrusted to the king in council, that is the ministry for the time being with the king's concurrence could issue orders upon this subject that would have the force of law.

The regulations concerning commerce before 1813 have been stated on pages 156 and 212 of the preceding volume. On British goods imported in British ships a duty of three per cent of the value was then paid for revenue purposes. Ships belonging to countries in amity with Great Britain were allowed to obtain refreshments in the colonial ports, and if in distress sufficient cargo could be sold to defray their expenses; but with this exception the

commerce of the country was carried on exclusively in British vessels.

Up to this period Portuguese slave ships trading between Mozambique and Brazil were accustomed to call at Table Bay for water and other supplies, for though England had prohibited the ocean slave trade by her own subjects, she had not yet attempted to prevent its being carried on by foreigners. On the 13th of July 1812, however, the secretary of state issued instructions to the governor to prohibit intercourse of any kind between residents in the colony and slave ships putting into the ports, no matter to what nationality the ships belonged.

By an act of the imperial parliament which came in force on the 10th of April 1814 the Cape of Good Hope was for certain purposes comprised in the limits of the East India Company's charter. It was intended to encourage the formation of a depôt for Indian goods, and Cape merchants were therefore permitted to import merchandise of every description, except tea, from any part of the east except China, and to export it again to various parts of the world. Such merchandise could be kept in bond for eighteen months, and be released for exportation without payment of duty. Traffic of this kind was required to be carried on in British ships of above 350 tons burden, but was otherwise unrestricted. Less advantage was taken of the privilege, however, than was anticipated when it was conferred, and the benefit to the colony was not very great.

By an order in council on the 12th of July 1820, followed by an act of parliament in July 1821, trade to the colony from foreign countries in amity with Great Britain was thrown open, except in articles manufactured of cotton, wool, or iron, on payment of an import duty of ten per cent of the value of the goods; and foreign ships could be employed in such trade on the same footing as British. The customs duty on Cape produce exported in foreign ships was to be eight per cent of the value, unless equal privileges were granted by the country to which the foreign ships

belonged. Foreign ships, however, were prohibited from taking cargoes of Cape produce to British possessions.

By an order in council on the 14th of November 1821 customs duties on British goods imported into the Cape Colony in British ships were to be levied for revenue purposes at the rate of three and a quarter per cent of the value.

The fourth clause of a statute passed on the 5th of July 1826 recognised the general rule that every foreign state in amity with Great Britain might import its own produce in its own ships into any British colony, provided the importation was made directly from the country to which the ship belonged. It further recognised that such foreign ships might convey from the British colonies any goods to any part of the world.

In the following year an act was passed to amend this law. It provided that a foreign ship could convey from the country to which it belonged the produce of that country to any British colony, and could convey from that colony goods to any part of the world. But this privilege depended upon the fact whether such foreign country before the 5th of July 1826 had granted similar advantages to the navigation and commerce of Great Britain. On the 16th of July 1827 instructions were issued by the secretary of state that no foreign country was to be deemed to have fulfilled these conditions, or to be entitled to any of the privileges in question, until an order in council had been issued in its favour. At the same time an order in council enumerated various countries which were to be permitted to trade with the Cape. The duty on goods brought in their vessels was fixed at ten per cent of the value.

These regulations continued in force until the 22nd of February 1832, when an order in council was issued repealing all previous enactments, and fixing the duty on British goods from British possessions anywhere except the East Indies at three per cent of the value. East Indian produce and goods from foreign countries were to pay a duty of ten per cent of

their value. Ships belonging to countries in amity with Great Britain could convey to the colony any goods the growth, produce, or manufacture of their own countries, and could convey Cape produce to any part of the world on the same terms as British ships. Hoops, staves, and casks used in the wine trade were to be free of duty.

From 1806 to the close of 1814 the imports were at the average rate of £105,026 a year. English merchants, being apprehensive that at any time peace might be concluded and the colony again be restored to the Netherlands, made no effort to extend the Cape trade, and only sufficient goods were imported to meet the most pressing demands. After the convention which secured the colony to Great Britain there was much commercial speculation, and goods were sent for sale in greater quantities than were needed. From 1815 to 1825 articles were imported to the average value of £355,259 a year. Then the trade became more settled, new markets on the north and east of the colony were opened, and the extent to which British manufactures could be absorbed was ascertained. From 1826 to the close of 1835 the imports were at the average rate of £336,647 a year. In addition to this, after 1814 goods—chiefly East Indian—were imported to the average value of about £43,000 a year, placed in bond, and exported again without payment of duty. Nearly the whole of the imports were brought in British ships from Great Britain or British possessions in the east.

The exports of colonial produce were steadily rising. Among these wine held the first place. During the long war with France the British government held out great inducements to South African winefarmers to increase the quantity of their produce, and to improve its quality. Large premiums were offered to those who made the most, as well as to those who made the best wine. This encouragement, however, was trifling when compared with customs regulations subsequently adopted.

On the 2nd of July 1813 the imperial parliament reduced the customs duty on Cape wines from £43 1s. to £14 7s.—

that is to one-third of the duty on Portuguese and Spanish wines,—and the excise duty to £17 10s., the tun of two hundred and fifty-two gallons. This gave such an impetus to the planting and enlargement of vineyards that from seven thousand seven hundred and seven leggers produced in 1814, the quantity rose to nineteen thousand two hundred and fifty leggers in 1824, when there were over thirty million vines bearing.

No wine was permitted to be exported unless certified to be of good quality by an officer termed the winetaster, who was first appointed in 1811. This regulation had as its object to improve the quality of Cape wines and thus to remove the bad reputation which they had in Europe, but it did not answer that purpose, for after several years' experience it was found that the ordinary wines were actually inferior to those produced before the appointment of a taster.

The act of 1813 remained in force for twelve years, the most flourishing period that South African winefarmers have ever known. Then came a change. In March 1825 the difference in the duties on Cape and other wines entering Great Britain was reduced. Thereafter French wines were to be charged six shillings a gallon if conveyed in British ships, six shillings and sixpence a gallon if conveyed in foreign ships; Cape wine was to be charged two shillings a gallon if conveyed in British ships, two shillings and threepence a gallon if conveyed in foreign ships; all other wines were to be charged four shillings a gallon if conveyed in British ships, and four shillings and fourpence a gallon if conveyed in foreign ships.

Some slight modifications of this act were subsequently made, but with these exceptions it remained in force until October 1831, when it was repealed, and the duty on Cape wine entering Great Britain was fixed at two shillings and nine pence, and on all other wines at five shillings and six pence a gallon. The export of this article now rapidly fell off.

The wines of Constantia were in request in England at high prices. But there was seldom much of these to spare for exportation, as the local demand was large, and the Cape government compelled the proprietors of the two estates—Great and Little Constantia, into which the original farm was divided—to adhere to an agreement made in 1793 by their predecessors with the commissioners-general Nederburgh and Frykenius, under which each of them was bound to deliver thirty aams yearly at fifty rixdollars an aam. A few of the principal civil servants were accustomed to receive a keg each as a present from the governor, and the remainder was forwarded to the secretary of state for distribution among his friends. This continued until 1828, when Sir George Murray put an end to the distribution of the wine as presents, and required it to be sold on account of the Cape government.

For several years, owing to bad seasons, none was to be had, but in September 1834 the secretary of state issued instructions that the arrear quantities were to be collected and sent to England for sale.

Hides and skins had now come to rank next in value to wine in the list of exports. A large proportion of these were obtained from the Kaffirs beyond the eastern border and from the Griquas north of the Orange river. The Griquas were hunters by occupation. Fairs for dealing with them were commenced when the village of Beaufort West was founded, but in later years traders went among them and obtained great numbers of skins of wild animals in exchange for manufactured goods.

Many colonists were now devoting their attention to the production of wool, though this article had not yet attained a very prominent position in the list of exports. It had, however, passed the experimental stage, for by several farmers it had been proved to pay better than anything else that could be grown on their lands. Foremost among these in the western districts was Mr. Jan Frederik Reitz, who in 1812 purchased the estate Zoetendal's Vlei, and

placed upon it a flock of the best ewes obtainable, which he crossed with imported merino rams. In three years by cross-breeding with pure rams the wool was fit for use. In 1817 Mr. Michiel van Breda, owner of the beautiful estate Oranjezigt in Table Valley, became a partner with Mr. Reitz, and the industry was extended, so that by 1825 the production of wool on this farm was about three tons, and in 1829 six tons, worth in Capetown eighteen pence a pound. Several other farmers in the western districts were also breeding merino sheep, though on a smaller scale than Messrs. Reitz and Breda.

Woolled sheep were introduced into the eastern districts by some of the British settlers of 1820. Captain Duncan Campbell, a half-pay captain of marines who subsequently became civil commissioner of Albany, brought out a few southdowns from England, and afterwards imported others on several occasions, but this species of sheep was not found to thrive. In 1823 Mr. Miles Bowker purchased two merino rams which Lord Charles Somerset sent to the eastern districts, and from them and African ewes he raised a small flock of wool-bearing sheep. But the grass in the part of lower Albany where Mr. Bowker resided was not healthy for sheep, and though the flock produced very fair wool, it did not increase in number. At the same time there was no market for wool in such small quantities, and several years passed away before it could be turned to account. At length a settler named Bradshaw, who had a loom, made an arrangement with Mr. Bowker to turn the wool into blankets, and a few women living near Bathurst, who had brought spinning-jennies from England and knew how to use them, were employed to make the yarn. Some coarse though durable blankets were manufactured, but after a fair experiment, in 1834 it was found that the industry would not pay. Mr. Bowker then for several years sold his wool to a Mr. Allison, in Grahamstown, who made hats with it. In 1835 most of his sheep were taken by the Kaffirs, but a few were left, which were subsequently

removed to a farm on the Koonap river, and there increased rapidly.

Mr. Bowker was followed as a breeder of wool-bearing sheep by Major Pigot, who procured some merinos from the government farm Groote Post. The experiment, however, was on a small scale, and did not expand until several years later, when the progeny of these merinos came into Mr. J. Carlisle's possession.

More than to any of these gentlemen the credit for the success of this industry is due to three half-pay English officers, Lieutenants Richard Daniell, Charles Griffith, and Thomas White.

The first of these had been an officer in the royal navy, and came to this colony in 1820 as an immigrant independent of government aid, bringing a party of fifteen individuals with him. He obtained as a grant the farm Sweetmilk-fountain, not far from the Bushman's river. Lieutenants Griffith and White came out as heads of parties of British settlers, and were located first on the Zonderend river, but ultimately removed to Albany. Previous to leaving the west, Lieutenant Griffith spent some time on a farm at Groenekloof, and observed how well the merinos throve at Groote Post. After settling in Albany he purchased a small flock of halfbreed sheep from Mr. Colebrooke at Hottentots-Holland, and had it removed to the frontier. Lieutenants Griffith and Daniell then entered into partnership. From a man on the way to Australia who happened to call at Capetown they purchased some pure merinos, with which they greatly improved their flock. After a short time the partnership was dissolved, when the sheep came into Lieutenant Griffith's sole possession, and increased to a considerable number on his farm Burntkraal, near Grahamstown.

Meantime Lieutenant Daniell carried on farming in the same manner as in England, with the result that he lost nearly everything that he brought to South Africa. In 1827 he took again to breeding merino sheep, and was so successful

that at the beginning of 1832 he clipped ten thousand pounds of fine wool. At this time his flock was the choicest in the eastern districts, and his rams, being carefully bred from the purest imported stock, brought higher prices than any others in the market.

Lieutenant White, after some experience of South African farming, visited Europe and purchased in Saxony some choice rams and ewes, with which he returned to the colony in 1828. The stock from his estate—Table farm, near Grahamstown—was afterwards considered second only to that of Lieutenant Daniell.

By 1834 the industry was regarded as firmly established. In that year an eastern province joint stock company commenced importing rams and ewes of the best breed from Saxony, and a merchant skipper—Captain Robb, of the *Leda*—brought as a speculation thirty young rams from Sydney, New South Wales, which were sold at such a profit that he repeated the venture on a larger scale.

In 1835 Captain Robb tried to introduce Angora goats from New South Wales. Some died on the passage, but he succeeded in landing two males and one female, which were purchased by Mr. Frederick Korsten,* of Cradock's Place, near Port Elizabeth, for £150. In 1830 Mr. Korsten commenced to farm with woolled sheep, and he now resolved to make an experiment with the goats, to ascertain which was most profitable. This was the origin of the production of mohair in South Africa, though many years elapsed before that article attained a noticeable place in the list of exports. In 1836 Captain Robb introduced four more Angora goats and nearly three hundred fine woolled sheep. In that year the Cape of Good Hope Agricultural Society presented to him a handsome cup as a testimonial of the services he had rendered to flockmasters. There is a plain tablet in his

* This gentleman, who arrived in 1795 as an officer in the Dutch navy, was one of the most enterprising individuals in the colony. He was the principal preparer in the eastern province of salted meat for exportation. He died at Cradock's Place on the 16th of June 1839.

memory on a wall of the old Scotch church in Capetown, and his name deserves a place among those of the men who have helped to promote the prosperity of South Africa.

At almost the same time an effort to introduce Angora goats of the purest breed was made by a retired military officer. Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson, a gentleman who was well acquainted with Asiatic Turkey, had come to reside at the Cape, and was impressed with the view that the country was eminently adapted for the production of mohair, the silk-like fleece of the Angora goat. Accordingly he procured through agents, though with considerable difficulty and at great expense, a flock of thirty-nine of the valuable animals, which were sent through Constantinople to Egypt. From Egypt they were taken through Persia to Bombay, and from that port shipped to the Cape. Twenty-seven of them died on the passage. In 1838 one she-goat, eleven of the original males, and one male born on the way arrived, but to the great disappointment of their owner, the whole of the original males, though apparently perfect, had by some means been made useless for breeding purposes. The she-goat too never bred after arrival. The male born on the passage, however, was purchased by Mr. Hendrik Vos, and by crossing with selected ordinary goats, and then with their offspring, in course of time a flock with fairly good fleeces was obtained.

A beginning having been made, some merchants in Port Elizabeth took the matter in hand, and managed to procure pure-bred goats occasionally, until the industry was thoroughly established and South Africa became, what it is to-day, the first mohair producing country in the world. The Angora goat, being a highly-bred animal, is far from hardy, and requires great care. It is not adapted to all parts of the country, but in some places it thrives well under good management, and brings in fair returns.

From 1806 to 1814 the colonial produce exported was of the average value of £61,491 a year, from 1815 to 1825 it averaged £198,446 and thereafter it steadily rose. The

principal articles, with their average values during periods of five years each, were—

—	1826 to 1830.	1831 to 1835.
	£	£
Aloes	2,012	2,204
Argol	441	623
Beef and pork	—	5,160
Brandy	296	469
Butter	4,599	4,710
Dried fruit	2,854	2,714
Grain	16,917	27,390
Hides and skins	37,454	62,829
Horns	3,904	5,431
Horses and mules	9,274	6,504
Ivory	4,362	2,438
Ostrich feathers	1,719	2,052
Tallow	297	11,108
Whalebone and oil	4,254	6,799
Wine	120,750	84,028
Wool	1,307	8,184
Other articles	7,972	11,003
Total	218,412	243,646

Nineteen per cent of the exports were from Port Elizabeth.

From the 1st of January 1806 to the 31st of December 1825 the merchant ships—exclusive of coasters—that put into Table Bay averaged one hundred and thirty-four yearly. During the ten years that ended on the 31st of December 1835 the average yearly number was two hundred and twenty-five. In the whole thirty years forty-seven wrecks took place in the bay, but the loss of life was very small, altogether not exceeding fifteen individuals. There were several disastrous wrecks on the South African coast, however, the particulars of all of which it is not possible to recover.

The financial condition of the colony was as here described when Sir Benjamin D'Urban received instructions from Mr. Stanley immediately to carry out the scheme of retrenchment which Lord Goderich intended to be gradual. The salaries of the principal officers were all reduced. The governor

himself was to draw £5,000 a year, and be provided with a town residence only. The secretary to government was to receive £1,500 instead of £2,000, the attorney-general £1,200 instead of £1,500, the collector of customs £700 instead of £1,000, the auditor-general £700 instead of £800, the commissioner of stamps £500 instead of £700, and the controller of customs £500 instead of £700 a year.

The district of Simonstown was to be joined to the Cape, and was to exchange its magistrate for a special justice of the peace. George and Somerset were to be reduced to the rank of sub-districts. Throughout the colony the offices of civil commissioner and resident magistrate were to be united, and a salary of £500 a year and a free residence was allowed to each. These changes were to take place from the 1st of July 1834. The governor was instructed to select the most competent of the old officers to fill the combined situations, and to allow the others small pensions. Accordingly, as civil commissioner and resident magistrate, Mr. P. B. Borcherds was appointed to the Cape, D. J. van Ryneveld to Stellenbosch, H. Rivers to Swellendam, P. J. Truter to Worcester, J. W. van der Riet to Uitenhage, D. Campbell to Albany, and W. C. van Ryneveld to Graaff-Reinet.

As assistant civil commissioners and resident magistrates, each with a salary of £300 a year, Mr. Jan van Ryneveld was appointed to Clanwilliam, Egbertus Bergh to George, Jeremias Frederik Ziervogel to Somerset, and Jacobus Johannes Meintjes to Beaufort.

These reductions were not applied to all officers on the same scale, and upon some individuals they pressed with great hardship. For instance, Mr. Wilberforce Bird, controller of customs, a man of talent and superior education, who had once drawn £1,000 a year for the same duty, was now reduced to £500. He was then in his seventy-sixth year, and during a long period of service had given the highest satisfaction to the government. Mr. P. B. Borcherds, civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the Cape, after over thirty years' service was reduced from £800 to £500,

and had the former district of Simonstown added to his care. He was, however, relieved of the task of trying police cases in Capetown, which duty was added to that of the superintendent, the baron De Lorentz. This gentleman, who had served as an officer in the royal fusiliers in the peninsular war* and in America, but who had only been eight years in South Africa, was reduced from £700 to £600. Mr. Crozier, the postmaster-general, after twenty-seven years' service, was reduced from £600 to £400.

The supreme court also underwent some changes in which a decrease of expense was kept in view, though the primary object was greater efficiency. On the 16th of June 1832 a new charter of justice was issued. By it the judges were reduced to three in number, and their restriction to barristers or advocates was removed. By the terms of the first charter they were appointed by letters patent under the great seal, now their commissions were drawn up under the public seal of the colony in pursuance of warrants under the king's sign manual. The patronage of the court was transferred from the chief justice to the governor. Two judges were to form a quorum, and in case of difference of opinion judgment was to be suspended until all three could be present. In civil cases an appeal to the privy council could be made when the matter in dispute was of the value of £500. The orphan chamber was abolished, and its duties were transferred to the master of the supreme court.

An ordinance of the governor in council, dated 5th of May 1831, had provided that ignorance of the English language was not to disqualify persons from being jurors, and made all free men—except certain officials—between twenty-one and sixty years of age, who possessed land of the annual value of £1 17s. 6d. or paid taxes to the amount of 20s. in the country and 30s. in the Cape district, liable to serve. The new charter of justice confirmed this principle.

* At Salamanca he was once left for dead on the field of battle. In this colony he was regarded as an excellent magistrate.

Though this charter was acted upon as far as the reduction of the number of judges was concerned, by the removal of Mr. Justice Burton to the supreme court of New South Wales in November 1832, it was not otherwise observed until the 1st of March 1834. From that date it superseded the first charter of justice.

Before May 1833 the colony had in England a special agent—Mr. T. P. Courtenay—with a salary of £600 a year. Messrs. George Baillie and Edward Barnard were then appointed agents-general for the colonies, and matters relating to South Africa were entrusted to the latter. Towards the salaries of these gentlemen the Cape was required to contribute £200 a year.

The colonists were disposed to think that if they could obtain a representative assembly, many of the evils which pressed upon them would be removed. Early in 1827 a petition for such a form of government, signed by sixteen hundred persons, was sent to England, and on the 8th of June in that year was presented by Mr. Baring to the house of commons. After a discussion which showed that it would not be warmly supported, it was ordered to lie upon the table, and there was an end to it.

Three years later it was followed by another to the same effect, which was presented to the commons by Lord Milton on the 24th of May 1830. Sir George Murray, then secretary of state for the colonies, immediately opposed it, as in his view it would be the means of setting the Dutch and English colonists at variance, and an attempt would be made by legislation to oppress the slaves and the Hottentots. His remarks decided the fate of the petition.

The next appeal was to the king in council. On the 16th of July 1831 a public meeting was held in the hall of the commercial exchange at Capetown, when it was decided to draw up a memorial, praying that the king might be pleased to commit the administration of the internal affairs of the colony to a governor appointed by the crown, an executive council chosen by him with the sanction of the crown, and

a legislative assembly composed of representatives elected by the inhabitants. This memorial was forwarded by Sir Lowry Cole to Lord Goderich on the 6th of January 1832. No immediate action was taken upon it; but in the course of the following year the ministry resolved to make the government of the Cape a little less despotic, by the creation of two distinct councils to take the place of the council of advice. Earl Grey was still premier, but Mr. Stanley had succeeded Lord Goderich at the colonial office.

In Sir Benjamin D'Urban's commission as governor, which was dated the 23rd of October 1833, provision was made for the creation of a legislative council for the Cape Colony. It was to consist of not less than ten nor more than twelve members, exclusive of the governor. The military officer next in rank to the governor, the secretary to government, the treasurer-general, the auditor-general, and the attorney-general were to have seats by virtue of their offices. The other members were to be selected by the governor from the most respectable inhabitants, and were to hold office during residence and good behaviour, unless disallowed by the secretary of state within two years of their nomination. The governor and six members were to form a quorum. Meetings could only be summoned by the governor, and in them he was to preside unless his absence should be unavoidable, when the senior member present was to occupy the chair. The governor was to have a vote the same as other members, and also a casting vote when the council was equally divided.

Decisions were to be valid on a simple majority of votes. Draft ordinances were to be published in the *Gazette* at least three weeks before being submitted for discussion.

An executive council was at the same time created. It was to consist of the military officer next in rank to the governor, the secretary to government, the treasurer-general, and the attorney-general. The governor was to take the advice of this council in questions of administration, but he was not obliged to follow it if he saw good reason to act differently.

On the 25th of February 1834 Messrs. Pieter Laurens Cloete, John Bardwell Ebden, Michiel van Breda, Charles Stuart Pillans, and Jacobus Johannes du Toit were gazetted as the first unofficial members of the legislative council. On the 2nd of April the first session was opened. All the unofficial members were present, and also Lieutenant-Colonel Wade, military officer next in rank to the governor, Mr. Jan Godlieb Brink, acting secretary to government during the absence on leave of Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, Mr. Joachim Willem Stoll, treasurer-general, Mr. Pieter Gerhard Brink, auditor-general, and Mr. Anthony Oliphant, attorney-general. As the governor entered the council room, a military band in attendance played the national anthem, and a salute was fired from the Imhof battery. The debates were at first held with closed doors, but an abstract of proceedings was published for general information.

In October, however, a number of gentlemen sent in a request to be permitted to listen to the discussions. Thereupon a resolution was carried that each member might admit one friend, and each newspaper have one reporter present at the meetings, so that from this time forward the proceedings were public except on extraordinary occasions.

Such a council by no means satisfied the colonists. On the 8th of October 1834 there was a large public meeting in Capetown, when it was resolved to send another petition to the king for a representative assembly. But the imperial authorities were not disposed to comply with the desires of the memorialists, and for many years no more liberal form of government could be obtained.

While the orders concerning retrenchment were in course of execution and the changes in the system of government were being made, Sir Benjamin D'Urban was unable to visit the eastern frontier to inaugurate the new policy which the secretary of state had determined to carry out towards the Kaffirs. If the matter had not been one of such importance to the colony, some of Mr. Stanley's despatches concerning it would be the most ludicrous documents in our archives.

A secretary of state, who holds office on the precarious tenure of the support of a majority in parliament, who accepts his post with no special knowledge of the countries whose destinies are placed for a time in his hands, and who is perhaps not long enough in power to acquire that knowledge, must always be liable to make blunders. At this period the succession of secretaries was very rapid, and one followed the other without any having more than a superficial acquaintance with the condition of the people of South Africa.

The governor was instructed by Mr. Stanley to "cultivate an acquaintance with the chiefs of the Kaffir tribes by stationing prudent and intelligent men among them as agents," and for this purpose was allowed to expend a sum not exceeding £600 a year. Mr. Stanley was of opinion that "if not all, many of those chiefs might be gradually induced in return for small annual presents of stores to become responsible for the peaceable conduct of their followers."

Shortly after Sir Benjamin's arrival, therefore, he caused an official notification to be made to the several Xosa chiefs that he intended to visit the border as soon as his duties would allow him to leave Capetown, and that he would then enter into the most friendly arrangements with them. He hoped, he added, that on their part they would show the same desire for concord, and that they would give a proof of it by preventing their people from stealing the cattle of the colonists. Instructions were sent to the officers on the frontier, prohibiting the employment of force against the Kaffirs. Military patrols could follow the traces of robbers, but were not to use their arms except for purposes of defence in the last extremity.

A little later Sir Benjamin took advantage of a tour which the reverend Dr. Philip was about to make to the stations of the London society, and requested that gentleman to impress upon the chiefs that his intentions were most friendly, and that it would be greatly to their advantage to

conduct themselves in harmony with his desires. Whether Dr. Philip acted as the governor's agent on this occasion and made certain definite proposals to the chiefs, or whether he merely collected information for the use of the governor, is uncertain. The arrangement was verbal, and this matter was afterwards a subject of dispute between them. But it is beyond dispute that during the winter of 1834 Sir Benjamin D'Urban and the reverend Dr. Philip were on the most confidential terms. Six months later it was very different.

In the preceding chapter the history of some of the border chiefs was brought down to 1829. Makoma, right-hand son of Gaika, had then recently been expelled from the Kat river, and was living between the Tyumie and the Keiskama. Tyali, his half-brother of the left-hand house, was occupying the valley of the Mankazana, Botumane with his Imidange possessed the western bank of the Tyumie from the present village of Alice nearly down to Fort Willshire, Eno and his clan of the Amambala were on the western side of the Keiskama, between Fort Willshire and the Gwanga, and Pato, Kama, and Kobe, with the Gunukwebes, were in occupation of the land farther down, between the Keiskama and Beka rivers, the Gwanga and the sea.

Gaika, Ndlambe, and Dushane, the three most prominent figures on the border during the first quarter of the century, had all disappeared.

The old chief Ndlambe must have been nearly ninety years of age when in February 1828 he died close to the Wesleyan mission station Mount Coke, on the western bank of the Buffalo river. His son Umkayi was by birthright his successor, but being of feeble intellect, was supplanted by a son of lower rank, named Umhala. Umkayi was obliged to submit, but though left without power, he was treated with respect by the people of the clan.

Within a few months Dushane followed his father to the grave. His kraals were scattered over the country on both sides of the Tshalumna and on the eastern bank of the

lower Keiskama. He left by his great wife a son named Siwani, who was still a child, and Siyolo, the heir of the right-hand house, embraced the opportunity to secure as much power as possible.

Gaika survived his uncle and rival less than two years. Worn out with drunkenness and debauchery, he died at his kraal on the Keiskama, near the Glasgow mission station Burnshill, on the 13th of November 1829. His great wife, Sutu by name, was mother of a son who was then only a boy. Though no one believed Gaika to be his father, this youth was regarded as the legitimate heir to the chieftainship, and Makoma was appointed regent during his minority. The boy's name was Sandile.

This event made Makoma the most powerful chief on the border. He was a man of medium stature, but was strong and muscular, brave, and possessed of great power of endurance. At this time inebriety had not set its hideous stamp upon him, and his open face and courageous demeanour made him a favourite with the English officers on the frontier. For a long time he had been regarded by his father as a formidable rival rather than a dutiful subject. Restless and daring adventurers from all the clans were constantly swelling the number of his followers, for his kraal was a refuge where they were sure to meet a welcome.

Another son of Gaika must be mentioned. This was Anta, who was by birth inferior to Sandile, Makoma, and Tyali, but whom good fortune made a man of note. Ntimbo, right-hand son of Umlawu and half-brother of Gaika, having died without issue, Anta was selected to succeed him, and consequently became head of an important clan.

Of late years mission stations had been greatly multiplied in Kaffirland. The London society had one where King-William's-Town now stands, and one at Knappshope, on the Keiskama. The Glasgow society had one near the source of the Tyumie, another at old Lovedale, farther down the same river, a third at Burnshill, on the Keiskama, and a fourth at Pirie, near one of the sources of the Buffalo. The

Wesleyan society had one at Wesleyville, on a feeder of the Tshalumna, one at Mount Coke, on the Buffalo, one at Butterworth with the Galekas, founded in July 1827, one at Morley with a clan of mixed European and Pondo origin, founded in May 1829, one at Clarkebury with the Tembus, founded in April 1830, and one at Buntingville with the Pondos, founded in November 1830. The Moravian society had one at Shiloh with the emigrant Tembus under Bawana, founded in 1828.

Trading stations were also scattered thickly over the country. The articles chiefly disposed of were blankets, beads, metal buttons, brass wire, iron pots, axes, picks, and knives. Barter was accompanied by a great deal of talking. A man would not exchange a hide for a blanket until he had consulted a dozen of his friends who accompanied him, each of whom examined the article minutely. When at length the exchange was made, the trader gave a little tobacco or red ochre as a present, for until this ceremony was completed, the purchaser was held at liberty to alter his mind. To the Kaffirs time was of no importance. Hardly any profit could have compensated for such a method of doing business, if half a dozen articles were not being disposed of at once to different individuals.

Anything like a really friendly feeling between the Kaffirs and the colonists was prevented by the constant depredations upon the farmers' herds. In March 1830 the military patrols that were engaged in following spoors were threatened by Makoma and Tyali, and on one occasion a party of thirty soldiers would have been surrounded if they had not made ready to use their muskets to secure a retreat. On this occasion both Makoma and Tyali had sent their cattle and women to places of safety, and had bands scattered about, each consisting of four or five hundred armed men.*

* The governor attributed the attitude of Makoma and Tyali on this occasion to indiscreet language used by Dr. Philip in a recent interview with Botumane. But I am convinced that this is an error. Dr. Philip could have had no influence whatever with any of the Xosa captains at that time, for in private they

Owing to the defiant attitude of the chiefs, a commando was called out to recover the stolen cattle in their possession. On the 17th of June 1830 the burghers assembled at Fort Willshire, and the final plan of operations was agreed upon. It was resolved to surprise the kraals of four petty captains subject to Makoma and Tyali, which were situated beyond the Keiskama, as it was considered likely that the chiefs would anticipate a visit to their own residences, and would therefore take care to have the cattle at a distance.

One of the captains, named Magugu, was subject to Makoma. At his kraal so much plunder was found that the officer in command thought it right to make him a prisoner, and he was taken to Fort Willshire, but was there released. That his kraal was so successfully surprised was due to the Gunukwebe captain Kobe, who acted as guide on the occasion. Two of the others against whom divisions of the commando marched received warning in time, and consequently no cattle of any kind were found at their places.

The fourth kraal was under a petty captain named Sigcawu, an offshoot of the house of Rarabe and a dependent of Tyali. Against this kraal a division of the commando, consisting of a party of burghers under Fieldcornet Pieter Erasmus, marched. The expedition was successful in surprising the place, and found there a large number of cattle stolen from the colonists—some quite recently. The whole herd was seized, and Fieldcornet Erasmus informed the captain that it would be taken to Fort Willshire, where the stolen cattle would be selected and the remainder be restored to him. Sigcawu requested that the milk cows might be left, otherwise the children would be hungry and the calves

would certainly have ridiculed anyone holding his opinions. After 1836, when it was proclaimed in every kraal in the country that it was by his agency the ceded territory was restored to them, they of course attached great importance to what he said. The cause of the chiefs' conduct cannot be ascertained from Kaffir sources. In all probability they were merely trying how far they could go without actually provoking war, for the changes in the frontier system had made them doubt the power of the government to act as in Lord Charles Somerset's time.

would die. The fieldcornet consented, and the cows were driven out. The party then left the kraal with about two thousand five hundred head of cattle.

The captain himself and six or eight of his men volunteered to assist in driving the herd, and were allowed to do so, but not to take their assagais with them. After a time a neck of land covered with bushes was reached, when suddenly there was a great shout in front and a peculiar shrill whistling which Kaffirs use when driving cattle. The whole herd instantly turned about and nearly trampled down the farmers. At the same time an assagai whizzed past one of them. In the dust that was raised some Kaffirs were seen, but the confusion was so great that no one knew the whole circumstances. Several farmers raised their guns and fired, when Sigcawu and six of his men fell dead. The body of the chief was found with an assagai, which he must have obtained from one of his people just before he fell, and which furnished proof of his being implicated in the attempted rescue. The Kaffirs succeeded in driving off about nine hundred head of cattle, and with the remaining sixteen hundred the expedition reached Fort Willshire.

Shortly afterwards Tyali arrived at the fort, and claimed a good many of the cattle as his property. He was allowed to drive out those which he selected, until some were identified as belonging to colonists, when he was ordered to desist.

This event had the effect of diminishing depredations for a time, but in 1833 they were resumed on a very extensive scale. Sir Lowry Cole then resolved to expel Tyali from the valley of the Mankazana, and in September a military force was sent to drive him out. He did not resist, but retired quietly to the land along the Gaga, from its source to its junction with the Tyumie. There he gave as much trouble as in his former home.

When Lieutenant-Colonel Wade became acting governor, he caused a strict inquiry to be made into matters in the ceded territory. He found that in 1832 Lieutenant-Colonel

Somerset had given Makoma leave to cross the Tyumie with a few followers, and that now the greater portion of his clan was on the western bank, mixed with Botumane's people. Colonel Somerset was in Europe on leave, and Lieutenant-Colonel England was acting commandant of the frontier. No reason except Colonel Somerset's partiality for Makoma could be imagined for the permission given to him. Tyali's people had only to cross the ridge which separated the sources of the Gaga from those of the Mankazana, to be in a position to plunder at will.

Under these circumstances Colonel Wade practically defined a new boundary. The wording of the notice in the *Gazette* issued after Lord Charles Somerset's arrangement with Gaika in 1819 was somewhat obscure, and the Gaga was not named in it. Another branch of the Tyumie a little higher up better answered the description there given. This stream—named the Kurukuru—rises a short distance below the mission station founded by Mr. Brownlee, and falls into the Tyumie where the commonage of the present village of Alice commences. The dividing ridge between the Kat and the Tyumie approaches the last named stream much more closely at the sources of the Kurukuru than at the sources of the Gaga, so that the higher tributary was much the better boundary. It cut off from Kaffirland the beautiful site of the present Lovedale missionary institution and several square miles of fertile land now in possession of Fingos.

In November 1833 Captain Robert Scott Aitchison, of the Cape mounted rifles, was directed to remove Tyali beyond the Kurukuru, and Makoma and Botumane beyond the Tyumie. They did not attempt to resist, but retired quietly with all their movable property. Their women were afterwards permitted to cross over and tend the gardens until the millet and pumpkins were ripe, and could be taken away. Colonel Somerset returned and resumed his command in February 1834. He gave Makoma leave to settle in the ceded territory again; but Captain Duncan

Campbell, civil commissioner of Albany and Somerset, represented the imprudence of this step so strongly to government that the Kaffirs were once more ordered out. Thus there had been constant vacillation in the dealings of the European authorities towards the Xosas on the border.

To the Kaffirs it appeared as if the white people must be very weak or very foolish. A farmer had, for instance, ten oxen stolen from him. The spoor was followed, and two were recovered at a kraal. Was not this presumptive evidence that the other eight had been brought there also, and had either been slaughtered or driven farther away? Yet the patrol could only take the two that were found, and the thieves' own cattle were perfectly safe. Surely people who acted thus must be unable to maintain their own rights, or be very silly indeed.

To the Gaikas it seemed also as if the colonial government had completely changed sides in their feuds. With the death of Ndlambe, some of the old rivalry had disappeared; but between Makoma's people and the Gunukwebes it remained as strong as ever. Now the Gunukwebes were permitted to occupy the land between the Keiskama and the Beka, and of all the clans that had at any time taken part with Gaika, only the one under Eno was left in the ceded territory. The feeling on this question among the followers of Makoma and Tyali was very bitter indeed, sufficiently so to make them think of taking up arms against the colony. They could now count upon much the greater number of the western Xosas being on their side. Umhala, whose title against his half-brother Umkayi was weak, leant upon them for support, and was one of their strongest allies. Siyolo too, who was seeking power at the expense of the youth Siwani, was wholly with them.

The condition of western Kaffirland in 1834 was thus one of readiness for war. The assagai makers were busy manufacturing weapons, and the chiefs were tampering with the Hottentots of the Cape corps and of the settlement at the

Kat river. But the missionaries and the traders in the country noticed nothing amiss, and the only indication that the colonists had of matters not being in their usual state was that horses instead of horned cattle seemed now to be preferred by robbers.

Although Sir Benjamin D'Urban was unable to visit the eastern border during 1834, he managed to initiate the new policy devised by the secretary of state for dealing with the native tribes. In preceding chapters an account has been given of the settlement of various people of Hottentot and mixed blood in the territory near the junction of the Vaal and Orange rivers, and of their adoption of the name Griquas, which the reverend Mr. Campbell gave to them. For some years they were nominally under the government of the captains Barend Barends and Adam and Cornelius Kok, but, being attached to the wandering life of hunters, in reality many of them submitted to no government at all. In 1820 all the captains moved away from Griquatown, the principal mission station in that part of the country, which was thus left without a ruler of any kind. The missionaries then persuaded the people of the station to elect a captain, and their choice fell upon a man named Andries Waterboer, who was an assistant teacher in the school.

Waterboer proved himself competent for the situation. He knew how to preserve order, he was a capable leader in warlike excursions, and he worked harmoniously with the missionaries. He even declared that he governed as a vassal of the London society. His authority indeed did not extend beyond Griquatown and its outposts, but on every possible occasion thereafter the missionaries put him forward as a person of importance. Towards the close of 1834 the reverend Peter Wright brought him to Capetown, to be present at the festivities connected with the emancipation of the slaves, and there he won great favour by his correct conduct and sensible remarks at public meetings.

It was represented to Sir Benjamin D'Urban that if Waterboer's people were supplied with guns and ammunition

they might be of great service to the colony by driving Stuurman's robber gang from the islands in the Orange river. They as well as the farmers were exposed to depredations by the banditti, and they were so close by that they could seize any favourable opportunity for attack. The governor needed very little prompting. Waterboer and nearly all his followers were born in the colony, but there was no desire to regard them as British subjects. They wished to be independent, and difficulties were not placed in their way.

Under these circumstances, on the 11th of December 1834 the first formal written treaty entered into between the English authorities in South Africa and a native ruler was signed at Capetown. In it Waterboer engaged to be the faithful friend and ally of the colony, to preserve order in his territory, to restrain and punish any attempt to violate the peace of the colony by people living within his country, to seize and send back any criminals or fugitives from the colony, to protect that portion of the colonial border opposite to his own—namely from Kheis along the Orange river to Ramah—against marauders from the interior who might attempt to pass through his territory, to assist the colonial authorities in any enterprise for the recovery of property or the apprehending of banditti who might take refuge in the jungle or other fastnesses along the above line, to give information of any intended predatory or hostile attempts against the colony which might come to his knowledge, and to coöperate cordially and in all good faith with the colonial government in preserving peace and extending civilisation among the native tribes.

On the other part, the governor engaged that a yearly stipend of one hundred pounds sterling should be paid to Waterboer; that he should be supplied with two hundred muskets and a reasonable quantity of ammunition, as occasion might require; and that fifty pounds sterling a year should be paid to the mission at Griquatown in aid of the school, especially for the instruction of the children in the English language.

To facilitate the observance of these engagements, the governor undertook to appoint an agent to reside at Griquatown, whom Waterboer bound himself to protect, and with whom he promised to communicate confidentially upon all matters concerning his territory and the colony. The confidential agent, who was named in the treaty, was the reverend Peter Wright, the missionary at the station.

This treaty met with the entire approval of the imperial authorities. On the 11th of April 1835 the earl of Aberdeen, who was then secretary of state for the colonies, wrote to Sir Benjamin D'Urban expressing the high satisfaction of the king's government with it, and declaring that this was "the only policy which it became Great Britain to observe and steadfastly to pursue in regard to the native tribes."

CHAPTER XIX.

SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN, GOVERNOR—(*continued*).

DURING the ten years preceding 1834 the Cape Colony was kept in constant agitation by the ever-increasing stringency of the laws for weakening the authority of slaveholders over their bondsmen, and thus preparing the way for complete emancipation of the negroes.

Slavery is in truth an institution to be detested. But it should not be judged solely by what civilised men and women would suffer if reduced to that condition, for even in its worst form it was in all European colonies an improvement upon the ordinary existence of millions of the children of Africa. If the condition of the slaves in the Cape Colony be compared with the condition of the natives along the Zambesi at the close of the sixteenth century, after the irruption of the Amazimba, as described in the Portuguese records of the time, the condition of the wretched survivors of Tshaka's butcheries, of the Bakalahari when white men first appeared in Betshuanaland, even of the Mashona before 1890, when the original fierceness of their Matabele conquerors had largely died out, the system will appear to be one of benevolence and mercy. The African, whose ancestors through all time had been accustomed to see the strong despise and trample upon the weak, felt no degradation in serving the white man, whom he instinctively recognised as his superior.

Still that does not justify the European in making a slave of the negro. In the case of the Cape Colony the greater harm done was to the white man himself, for the introduction of the negro as a servant was a moral and political blunder. The climate is such that Europeans enjoy robust health, and there

is no field of industry to which they cannot adapt themselves. A gardener who should stock his ground with inferior plants would be considered foolish, what then must be said of a government that deliberately introduced people of the most prolific and least improvable race into one of the choicest parts of the earth. Plants may be rooted out, but the negro once in a country in which he can thrive is there for ever. It is, however, useless now to moralise upon the subject, for there is no possibility of a remedy of any kind being devised.

During the whole period that the Dutch East India Company held the colony slaves were brought into it, but not in very large numbers, for their services could only be made remunerative to a limited extent. From 1796 to 1802 more were imported than at any period of equal length before or since. The trade was then legal and profitable, and English energy was directed to make the most of it. One of Lord Macartney's proclamations and certain customs regulations of that governor appear to restrict it, but they were not intended for that purpose. There had been some attempts to smuggle in slaves without payment of the import duties, and there were parts of the African coast which were closed by the English government as much as possible against trade, because the French were known to obtain supplies of provisions taken there in commerce. Under these circumstances, Lord Macartney declared the importation and sale of slaves, without the previous license and sanction of the government, punishable with a fine of two thousand rixdollars for the first offence, of five thousand rixdollars for the second, and of confiscation of the ship and cargo for the third. The purchasers of slaves introduced without license were declared to be liable to a fine of a thousand rixdollars, and the slaves were to be entitled to their freedom and to be sent back to their native country.

Under the short Dutch administration from 1803 to 1805 measures were contemplated for putting an end to slavery. In the ordinance for regulating customs duties slaves are classified—a man at twenty-five rixdollars, a woman at twenty

rixdollars, and a child under twelve years of age at fifteen rixdollars;—but as early as the 11th of April 1803 it was made known in the *Gazette* that until further notice the government would not grant permission to import cargoes of slaves, and in point of fact it never did. Under special circumstances a few were allowed to be landed from foreign ships that put into Table Bay, but beyond that neither Mr. De Mist nor General Janssens would go. There can be no doubt whatever that if the Batavian government had remained in possession of the colony a couple of years longer every child born thereafter would have been declared free.

The suppression of the foreign slave trade by the British government followed so closely upon the second conquest of the colony that there was only time in the interval for a few hundred negroes to be imported. From that date the increase in the slave population was due to the excess of births over deaths, which much more than compensated for the number emancipated.

With regard to the treatment of slaves in South Africa, all observers whose opinion is worthy of respect were agreed that in no other part of the world did bondage sit so lightly. In ploughing and harvesting on cornfarms the work might be termed hard, but even then it was not more severe than that performed by an English labourer. As far as food, clothing, lodging, and abstinence from excessive toil were concerned, the slaves upon the whole had nothing to complain of. The testimony upon this point is practically unanimous. All the English governors and officials of position who reported upon the subject were agreed in this. Their statements might be condensed into a sentence used by Lord Charles Somerset in a despatch to Earl Bathurst: "No portion of the community is better off or happier perhaps than the domestic slave in South Africa."

Still, to a modern European mind, judging the sentiments of negroes from those of Englishmen, the condition of the bondsmen was intolerable. They could be bought and sold like cattle, they were without legal family ties, they were

subject to the caprice of any one who happened to own them, a mother and her children could be widely separated. There were occasional cases of slaves being treated with excessive rigour, and crimes of violence were sometimes perpetrated upon them. These could be redressed by law, but it was not always that a slave knew how to bring his case before a court.

There never was an attempt in South Africa to defend the system in theory. Indeed, it was a common observation that it was worse for the white man, who had all the care and anxiety, than for the negro, who had only manual labour to perform. But there is great difficulty in disturbing any system, good or bad, that has long been interwoven with the life of a people. In the Cape Colony money to the amount of over three million pounds sterling was invested in slaves, and was secured not alone by ordinary law, but by the terms of the capitulation to the British forces.

In this condition the matter remained until the general peace which followed the fall of Napoleon, when something was needed to take the place in men's minds that had been occupied by the stirring events of war.

On the 26th of April 1816 a proclamation was issued by Lord Charles Somerset providing for a complete record of slave property and the prevention of any addition to it except by birth. A register was opened in each district, and was placed under the immediate inspection of the landdrost, but the person employed in keeping it was subject to the control of an officer in Capetown who was called the inspector of the registry. Duplicates of all entries were forwarded to the chief office in Capetown. Certificates of sale were required to be given on stamps of five rixdollars, and were subject to an additional fee of like amount towards defraying the expenses of the establishment. A penalty of one hundred rixdollars was imposed upon all who should neglect to notify each case of manumission, death, inheritance, or change of property; and those who should delay to make a return of their slaves or to comply with the other

regulations beyond the 31st of March—afterwards extended to the 1st of September—1817 for the districts of the Cape and Simonstown, and beyond the end of that year for the other districts, were regarded as having manumitted their slaves. Infants whose births were not registered within six months were free.

This proclamation was issued by the governor on his own initiative, but as it was in full accord with public opinion in England, it at once received the approval of the secretary of state. In the colony no opposition whatever was encountered in carrying it out. Thereafter it became impossible to introduce slaves by smuggling either from beyond the sea or from any part of the interior, or to reduce a prize negro to that class,* as no one whose name and description were not on the register could be held in bondage. Major G. Rogers, the governor's military secretary, was appointed inspector. The fees payable for registration covered the cost of the staff throughout the colony.

In September 1819 an act was passed by the imperial parliament, by which an office was established in London for the registration of the slaves in the colonies, and the method of carrying out the system at the Cape was thereafter made uniform with that adopted in England.

The next legislation on the subject was a very important proclamation issued on the 18th of March 1823 by Lord Charles Somerset, under direction of the imperial government. Its principal clauses provided that no slave should be compelled to perform other labour on the sabbath day than work of necessity; that slaves professing Christianity might be manumitted without payment of the fee of fifty rixdollars to the church; that in the towns and villages proprietors should send slave children from three to ten years of age to school at least three days in each week; that baptized slaves

* This is specially mentioned as one of the objects of the proclamation. A return made by the collector of customs on the 7th of January 1823 shows that between the 1st of January 1808 and that date 1,423 male and 451 female blacks had been introduced as prize and had been apprenticed by him.

might intermarry with their proprietors' consent; that such marriages should be performed by the clergymen without payment; that after such marriages husband and wife could not be sold apart, nor could their children under ten years of age be sold separately from them except by a decree of the high court of justice; that in no case should children under eight years of age be sold separately from their mothers; that slaves might acquire property by work during extra hours, donation, inheritance, or any other honest means, and could do with such property whatever they chose, either during life or by will; that every slave should be provided with sufficient clothing and food of a wholesome kind; that slaves should not be employed in field labour more than ten hours a day in winter and twelve hours a day in summer, except in ploughing or harvesting, when they should receive payment for the extra work, and might require the amount of such payment to be fixed by the local magistrate; that only mild domestic punishment, not exceeding twenty-five cuts with a rod or similar implement, should be inflicted on a slave, and that punishment should not be repeated within twenty-four hours.

There were several other clauses of less practical importance. Penalties for the infringement of each provision, in no case less than ten rixdollars, were to be inflicted by the landdrost of the district upon the transgressing master. And to make detection easy, one-third of the fines under the proclamation was to be paid to the informer. The other two-thirds were to be placed to account of a fund for the purchase and emancipation of slave girls.

This proclamation was not objected to by the colonists at first, for it conferred upon the slaves very few privileges that the well-behaved among them were not already in possession of. But symptoms of intractability soon appeared in many slaves, who found their masters' power limited by law, and that they had now as a right what previously they had received as an indulgence. Insubordination rapidly gained ground, and the old feelings of attachment between

the proprietors and their dependents became weakened. In several places almost at the same time very disorderly conduct on the part of the slaves occurred, so that the fear of a general negro insurrection became widespread.

The most serious instance of disorder occurred in the district of Worcester. On the 1st of February 1825 a party of seven slaves, aided by some Hottentots, rose against their masters—named W. N. van der Merwe, J. H. van Rensburg, and J. M. Verlee,—murdered them, assaulted and wounded two others, and then plundered the houses. Having armed themselves, they resisted a commando hastily assembled by the fieldcornet Dutoit, but were ultimately compelled to surrender. The slaves and five Hottentots were brought to trial before the high court of justice, when it clearly appeared that they believed they had been kept in servitude by their masters in opposition to the intentions of the government. Two of the Hottentots were acquitted, the others were found guilty. Three were hanged, and their heads were afterwards exposed on stakes, five were scourged and imprisoned for long periods, and two were scourged only.

In 1823 and again in 1824 Lord Charles Somerset suggested to the secretary of state a scheme of gradual abolition of the system of slavery. This he proposed to effect by declaring every female child born thereafter free, upon payment to the owner of £12 sterling. But this admirable device for the suppression of slavery, which would have been acceptable to the colonists and would have afforded a reasonable opportunity of preparing the negro population for freedom, found no countenance in the colonial office.

On the 19th of June 1826 by direction from England an ordinance was issued by the acting governor in council for the improvement of the condition of the slaves. The clauses of the proclamation of March 1823 were reënacted with some enlargements, and two important additions were made to them. The enlargements consisted chiefly in requiring that slaves should be paid for necessary work on the sabbath,

and that all should enjoy the special favours conferred by the proclamation upon the baptized only. One of the additions provided for the appointment of a protector in Capetown and assistant protectors in the country districts, whose duties should be to watch carefully over the interests of the slaves and to see that the laws in their favour were strictly carried out. The other addition was that slaves could compel their masters to liberate either themselves, or their children, brothers, sisters, wives, or husbands, at a price to be fixed by valuators. The ordinance was to have effect from the 1st of August 1826.

Much excitement was created throughout the colony by its appearance in the *Gazette*. It was the custom to send copies of important official publications to the burgher senate and to the respective boards of landdrost and heemraden, which were convened purposely to hear them read, in order that the members might become acquainted with new laws and make them known to the farmers. On this occasion the burgher senate refused to have the ordinance read, and addressed a remonstrance against it to the acting governor. General Bourke then sent for the members, and lectured them upon their duty, to which they replied with another memorial. Two of them resigned rather than have anything to do with the ordinance, and when at length it was read by the president, only the salaried officers of the board were there to hear it. In the same way the landdrost of Stellenbosch read it to the officers of the court only, as the heemraden declined to attend.

On the 26th of July 1826 a public meeting was held in Capetown, by leave of General Bourke, to prepare a petition to the king in council. The opinion was generally expressed that the relationship between master and slave was already so strained that it would not bear further tension. Every one desired the total extinction of slavery upon reasonable terms, but there was much diversity of view as to the manner in which it could best be effected. A committee was appointed to draw up a memorial that the ordinance

might be annulled, but when the members requested leave to lay before General Bourke their plans for improving the condition of the slaves and for the ultimate extinction of slavery, some doubts were thrown upon their power to represent the public. The matter was referred to the council, and the members expressed an opinion that there would be danger of creating hopes in the minds of the slaves which it might not be possible to realise. The committee then separated, without further action.

On the 2nd of October 1826 there was a meeting of the slaveholders of the district of Graaff-Reinet, when a resolution was unanimously adopted that in their opinion after a date to be fixed by government all female children should be free at birth, in order that slavery might gradually cease. Another proposal was carried by a majority, that all male children born after the same date should be free, but a minority objected, unless the owners were compensated for the boys. Captain Stockenstrom was requested by the meeting to proceed to Capetown for the purpose of laying these resolutions before the government, and to consult with deputies from the other districts.

The Graaff-Reinet resolutions were generally accepted throughout the colony as a reasonable basis for the extinction of slavery, and a law founded upon them would certainly have met with public approval, if vexatious and irritating legislation had not been persevered in.

On the 2nd of February 1830 an order in council was issued to amend and bring into one law the various enactments concerning slaves in the colonies subject to the legislative authority of the king in council, which were Trinidad, Berbice, Demerara, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius. It was published in Capetown on the 12th of August, with a notification that it would be in force on and after the 26th. In this order the same treatment was required for slaves thinly scattered over South African farms as for those working in gangs on a West Indian sugar plantation. Food, clothing, hours of labour, and

many other particulars were minutely entered into. The twenty-sixth clause required that "a punishment record book" should be kept by each slave proprietor, and that it should be submitted twice in every year to the protector, when the proprietor or manager of the estate should make oath to its accuracy.

There were many provisions in this order which could not be observed in South Africa. In consequence, numerous petitions from slaveholders in all parts of the colony were sent in, praying for the suspension or repeal of such provisions. It was not in the governor's power to comply, but he wrote to Lord Goderich urging a modification of the order in council. After describing the excited feeling "caused by the promulgation of a law to many of the provisions of which obedience was impracticable, and which, though apparently recognising the right of property in slaves, virtually denied it, by placing in the way of the slaveholders in the colony such obstacles to the management of their slaves as to render that species of property worse than useless," he informed the secretary of state that numerous deputations had waited upon him, begging him to suspend the obnoxious clauses. The slaveholders, he said, "were unanimous in their determination to suffer the penalties of the law rather than comply with its provisions relative to the book directed to be kept for recording punishments." Even if he possessed the means, he should not feel it right to compel the observance of this order, and if he must do so a larger military force than was then in South Africa would be required.

In Stellenbosch there was something like a riot. On the 11th of April 1831 a few slaveowners went to that village to submit their punishment record books to the assistant protector, whose office was in the public building, now the theological seminary. As soon as their object became known, a number of people assembled, and began to hiss at them and pelt them with dirt. The assistant protector endeavoured to see Mr. Faure, the resident magistrate,

whose office was in the same building; but he was refused admittance. The rioters broke the windows of the houses of the assistant protector and another person who was obnoxious to them, and kept control of the village until the expiration of the five days specified by law for the production of the punishment record books.

Mr. Faure did not report the circumstance until the 16th, and when called upon for an explanation of his conduct replied that from the weakness of the constabulary he did not think it right to interfere. The governor thereupon deprived him of office.

Seven of the principal rioters were put upon their trial before the next circuit court at Stellenbosch. They pleaded guilty, and were sentenced to pay fines of £10 each and to furnish security to the amount of £20 to keep the peace.

On the 6th of February 1832 a supplementary order in council was issued, relieving slaveholders, except those living in Capetown and Grahamstown or within twenty miles of those places, from keeping punishment record books. This order was received in the colony with another of the 2nd of November 1831, and both were published to come in force on the 28th of August.

The order in council of the 2nd of November 1831 limited the hours of slave labour to nine daily, prohibited the employment of slaves between six p.m. and six a.m., gave protectors and assistant protectors judicial and police powers with the right to enter upon estates and into slave dwellings at any time, with other clauses almost equally destructive of the owners' authority.

The excitement was now so great that Sir Lowry Cole considered it necessary to prevent the people assembling to discuss matters. On the 6th of June 1832 he published an ordinance for the prevention and suppression of meetings whereby the peace and good order of the colony might be endangered. It was to be in force for one year only. It was issued as an ordinance of the governor in council, though three members voted against it and only two in its

favour. At the same time the governor issued a proclamation, reserving to himself "the full and entire power lawfully vested in him to remove from the settlement any person whose continuance therein should be deemed by him to be prejudicial to the peace, good order, and security thereof," and declaring that he would "not hesitate to give full and immediate effect to the aforesaid power lawfully vested in him, in any case where he should see fit to exercise the same."

The ordinance was ratified by the imperial authorities, but Lord Goderich instructed the governor to take the most convenient opportunity at an early date to revoke the proclamation, as far at least as respected the removal of British subjects.

When the first ebullition of feeling subsided, the governor gave his consent to a public meeting being held, and on the 17th of September 1832 about two thousand slaveholders came together in Capetown. Mr. Michiel van Breda was elected chairman. The utmost order was observed throughout the proceedings, though speeches were made and resolutions unanimously carried to the effect that many of the clauses of the order in council were not only unjust in principle but inapplicable to the condition of the colony, and could not be carried out. The meeting resolved that if an elective legislative assembly were granted to the Cape, so that laws adapted to the country could be made, they would willingly coöperate not only in the improvement of the condition of the slaves, but in the abolition of slavery itself.

The whole of the assembled slaveholders then marched from the commercial exchange up Grave (now Parliament) street, and halted in the open space in front of government house. Mr. Michiel van Breda and Advocate Henry Cloete were deputed to make known their resolutions and to confer with Sir Lowry Cole, who had previously consented to receive them. These gentlemen informed the governor that the slaveholders were prepared to suffer the penalties of the

law, but they could not obey it, and they entreated that the operation of the order in council, which they regarded as iniquitous, might be suspended. The governor answered that it was beyond his power to comply with their wishes.

A document was then drawn up and generally signed, in which the slaveholders declared that they could not obey the obnoxious provisions of the order in council, and protested against the disastrous consequences that must arise from an attempt to enforce them.

Meantime fruitless efforts were being made in the colony to devise some medium between absolute ruin on the one hand and the state of affairs caused by the irritating regulations on the other. It was believed that the imperial government intended to lay a tax upon the slaves, with the object of compelling proprietors to emancipate them; but the belief is now known to have rested only on apprehension and rumour. On the 27th of May 1831 Lord Goderich directed Sir Lowry Cole to impose a tax—but only of five shillings—upon all slaves between ten and sixty years of age; and even this order was cancelled upon a representation by the governor that it would be very imprudent to enforce it.

The Graaff-Reinet proposals as accepted generally in the other districts—all female children after date of arrangement to be born free, on condition that no new legislation other than provisions for the severe punishment of actual ill-treatment should be imposed upon the slaveholders—met with no response in England. Sudden emancipation was regarded as impossible, even if there had been no dread of turning the negroes without restraint upon society. Many people had no other property, and throughout the colony the majority of the slaves were mortgaged. All who were sick, aged, and helpless had a legal claim upon their owners for maintenance, and could not be cast away.

It was out of the power of most colonists to act in the matter as the government had done. The last returns from the official in charge of the slaves belonging to the public

service show that there were then only seventy-seven males and forty-five females. In 1827, by direction of the secretary of state, General Bourke apprenticed the children. The able-bodied were then set free, and the infirm were placed in a hospital to be supported while they lived.

Emancipation, however, had become more frequent than formerly, for to the instances due to benevolent feelings were now added 'those arising from a desire to be free of vexatious legislation. In Capetown alone they rose to about one hundred and twenty yearly.

On the 27th of June 1828 an association was formed in Capetown termed the Cape of Good Hope society for aiding deserving slaves and slave children to purchase their freedom. It collected subscriptions, and turned its attention chiefly to the purchase of young girls, whom it was authorised by an ordinance of the 3rd of February 1830 to apprentice to suitable persons. It hoped to receive pecuniary aid from the British treasury and from benevolent persons in England, but was disappointed in both, though on the 22nd of May 1831 Lord Goderich authorised half of the fines received under the various orders in council to be paid to its treasurer. With means limited almost entirely to colonial subscriptions, this society was able to effect the emancipation of about twenty-five girls yearly.

The tension under which the slaveholders were living was so great that it was felt as a relief when an emancipation act was finally passed by the imperial parliament. On the 12th of June 1833 resolutions were adopted by both houses that immediate measures should be taken for the abolition of slavery, upon which the government brought in a bill, that rapidly passed through the requisite stages, and on the 28th of August received the signature of the king.

It provided that after a certain date—in the Cape Colony the 1st of December 1834—slavery was absolutely to cease. All slaves over six years of age were then to become apprentices to their former masters, either for four or six years, but if for six years they were not to be required to work

more than forty-five hours a week. Special magistrates were to be appointed, who were to have exclusive jurisdiction in cases between the apprentices and their employers, except in matters under control of the supreme and circuit courts. The sum of twenty million pounds sterling was voted to compensate the owners in the nineteen slave colonies of Great Britain, and the share of each colony was to be determined by the value of its slaves, based upon the average prices during the eight years preceding the 31st of December 1830.

There was a general impression that the money voted by the imperial parliament would suffice to meet the whole, or nearly the whole value of the slaves, and this impression was confirmed by the exulting declaration of the philanthropic party everywhere that Great Britain had not confiscated property, but had purchased the freedom of those who were in bondage. The number and value of the negroes in the other eighteen colonies was entirely unknown, still there was very little uneasiness felt on this point. Most people supposed that a vagrant act would be passed before the day of final emancipation, and in that belief they were disposed to accept the new condition of things without demur or heartburning.

Colonel Wade was therefore able to report very favourably upon the reception which the emancipation act met with. He also added his testimony to that of his predecessors in office upon the feeling with which the system was regarded by the colonists. In a despatch to the secretary of state, dated 6th of December 1833, he affirmed that "the inhabitants in general could not with justice be accused of brutal or inhuman treatment of their slaves, that there was not then and never had been at the Cape an attachment to slavery, that the existence of it had been a matter of necessity not of choice, and that until the last few years there had been no disinclination on the part of the colonists to emancipation on fair and equitable principles." "On the contrary," he wrote, "more than one plan for the gradual

extinction of slavery had emanated from the proprietors themselves."

On the 26th of March 1834 the governor appointed Messrs. P. M. Brink, E. Christian, W. Gadney, D. J. Kuys, H. A. Sandenberg, and J. J. L. Smuts "assistant commissioners of compensation," and the appraisement of the slaves commenced. They were divided into a number of classes, and the average value of an individual of each class was ascertained from a comparison of all the sales that could be ascertained to have taken place during the period defined in the emancipation act. A few objections were made to this manner of appraisement by persons who thought it unfair that their slaves should be put on an equality with those disposed of at forced sales, but in general the plan was regarded as the safest that could be adopted.

On the 30th of November 1834 there were in the colony thirty-nine thousand and twenty-one slaves, of whom twenty-one thousand six hundred and thirteen were males and seventeen thousand four hundred and eight were females. Five thousand seven hundred and thirty-one were under six years of age. Of the whole number, three thousand two hundred and seventy-six were aged, infirm, or otherwise unfit for work, and were regarded as having no pecuniary value. A few weeks later, when the appraisement rolls were finally completed, it was ascertained that to meet the value of the remaining thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-five £3,041,290 6*s.* would be required.

On the appointed day—1st of December 1834—slavery ceased to exist in the Cape Colony. In most of the churches throughout the country thanksgiving services were held in the morning, and in the towns and villages the afternoon was generally devoted to festivity. The negroes themselves, whose idea of freedom was a state of idleness, were mostly unable to realise the change that had taken place in their condition, and were by no means enthusiastic upon becoming apprentices; but the European philanthropic party was exceedingly jubilant.

An ordinance regulating the details of the proceedings under the emancipation act was before the legislative council, and though not published until the 5th of January 1835, it was acted upon as if already law. All the late slaves were declared to be non-predial, and those over six years of age to be apprentices to their former owners for four years. The hours during which they were required to labour were fixed on a sliding scale according to the seasons, so that in the year they should average ten and one-sixth daily, sacred and holidays excepted.

Under the emancipation act special magistrates were to be appointed for the protection of the apprentices, and eight half-pay officers had already arrived from England to fill some of these situations. Six more were selected by the governor, and for this purpose only the colony was divided into fourteen districts, to each of which a special magistrate was assigned. His sole duty was to enforce the provisions of the emancipation act and the ordinance regulating details.

The necessity for such extreme precaution appears doubtful, and the colonists regarded it as additional evidence of England's partiality to coloured people. In 1833 a small stream of immigration had commenced to set into the colony, in the form of destitute children sent from London by an association termed the society for suppressing juvenile vagrancy, later the children's friend society. About one hundred boys and girls were being sent out yearly, and were on arrival apprenticed to respectable people. It was an excellent scheme, and all parties were benefited by it, for the great majority of the children became useful and thriving men and women. But what appeared strange to the old colonists was that no protectors were appointed by the imperial government for these children of European blood, while so many were employed to guard the interests of the blacks.

The year 1835 was well advanced when a packet arrived from England with intelligence that the returns for all the slave colonies were complete, and that of the twenty

millions sterling the share awarded to the Cape by the commissioners under the emancipation act was £1,247,401 0s. 7¾*d.* The intelligence created a panic greater than any ever known before in South Africa. A very large proportion of the late slaves were mortgaged to the various institutions for lending money, and the mortgage bonds invariably contained a clause covering all other property. At once there was a demand for the redemption of the bonds, and goods and effects of all kinds had to be sold at enormous loss. In many instances slaves had been the sole property of families, widows, minors, or aged people, and the late owners were at once reduced to indigence.

But the whole calamity was not even yet known. Succeeding mails brought information that the imperial government would not send the money to South Africa, but that each claim would have to be proved before commissioners in London, when the amount apportioned would be paid in three and a half per cent stock. All the expenses connected with carrying out the emancipation act in each colony were first to be deducted from the amount awarded to that colony, so that it would not be possible to pay any claims for some time. And each set of documents was to be covered with a stamp of thirty shillings.

This decision of the imperial authorities brought into the country a swarm of agents, who purchased claims from the distressed and panic-stricken people at perhaps half their real value, so that a colonist, instead of receiving about one-third of the appraised value of his slaves, often received only one-fifth or one-sixth.

It is not easy to bring home to the mind the widespread misery that was occasioned by the loss of two millions' worth of property in a small and poor community like that of the Cape in 1835. There were to be seen families reduced from affluence to want, widows and orphans made destitute, poverty and anxiety brought into hundreds of homes. Men and women were recently living who had a keen remembrance of privations endured during childhood,

of parents descending to the grave in penury, of relatives and friends once wealthy suddenly reduced to toil for their bread, all through the mode of emancipation of their slaves. The class of planters near the Cape peninsula whose estates were the admiration of travellers, who lived in a luxurious style and whose hospitality was unbounded, went entirely out of existence. Agricultural industry of every kind became almost stagnant, though, on the other hand, the emancipation gave a great impetus to the production of wool, as men could be obtained to look after sheep much more readily than to till the ground.

Still harder to bear than the poverty brought upon the unfortunate people who had been slaveholders was the exuberant rejoicing of the philanthropists and the tone of the abolitionist press. There was not one word, one thought of sympathy for them. Instead of that they were taunted as if they had been oppressors, and the statement was made—a statement to this day often echoed by the prejudiced and the ignorant—that they were opposed to the emancipation of the negroes. The act, as it was carried out, was extolled as among the noblest and most glorious ever performed by a nation, and the fact was suppressed that they too were ready and willing to extinguish slavery, and that without the cost of a penny to the British treasury, provided it was done in such a way as not to bring ruin upon themselves and their children.

No one disputes now that the emancipation was beneficial to the character of the European race in South Africa. Power such as that of a slaveholder over a slave has an evil effect upon the mind of men, the contact of children with slaves in the same house was in many respects objectionable. Nor does anyone attempt to deny that the Asiatics, mulattos, and slaves of lighter blood have shown by their conduct that they were deserving of freedom. The property in houses that many of them own, without going further, would suffice to show that they were worthy of liberty.

But some of the closest observers have doubts whether the change was really beneficial to the pure blacks. A comparison between the negro slave of 1834 and his grandchildren of 1900 shows much in favour of the former. As a rule he was better fed, better clothed, better housed, more cleanly in his person, more respectable in his conduct and habits. In distress and sickness his grandchildren may have the advantage of being somewhat more carefully provided for in hospitals, but it is not owing to their own exertions. His descendants are educated in schools, at little or no expense to themselves; but it is very rarely that one turns such education to account. They remain as rough labourers, unwilling to toil longer than is necessary to procure a mere subsistence, careless about a provision for old age or a day of need. Numerous associations have sought to draw them into the Christian fold, and with a fair measure of success, though the rivalry between the various societies has caused them to regard joining a church as if it were conferring patronage upon the missionary. But they could have been converted as readily under the old system. Taking all this into consideration, however, African slavery cannot be justified. Every human being, white or black, has a right to improve his condition if he can, and slavery debarred the negro from this right. It was a violation of natural law, and was inconsistent with the principles of Christianity.

When intelligence of the emancipation act was first brought to South Africa, few colonists supposed that it would be carried into effect without the enactment of a law against vagrancy. Already, though there was a great demand for labourers which could not be met, the colony was swarming with able-bodied people in a state of destitution, who were a nuisance to owners of property. Betshuana refugees, Xosas, and Hottentots released from restraint by the fiftieth ordinance were wandering about, plundering the farmers everywhere. Sir Lowry Cole recognised the need of an ordinance to check vagrancy, but foresaw so many

difficulties in the way of passing one that he left the task for his successor. Lieutenant-Colonel Wade was about to bring the subject before the council of advice when Sir Benjamin D'Urban arrived. He then laid the matter before the new governor, with the result that on the 7th of May 1834 a draft ordinance was introduced and read for the first time in the legislative council. It gave to commandants, fieldcornets, and provisional fieldcornets power to apprehend persons suspected of having no honest means of subsistence, or who could not give an account of themselves, and to bring them before a magistrate or justice of the peace. After examination, if the charge was proved, the magistrate or justice of the peace could compel such persons to make roads or perform other public work for their maintenance until they should find security for good behaviour, or enter service, or show a reasonable inclination to accept employment.

The draft ordinance was no sooner published in the *Gazette* than Dr. Philip declared himself opposed to it. He sent a memorial to the council against it, and in the *Commercial Advertiser* announced his intention to appeal to the English nation and parliament if it were passed. The second reading was therefore postponed until his memorial could be referred to the civil commissioners to report upon. With a single exception—Mr. Van der Riet, of Uitenhage—the civil commissioners emphatically denied Dr. Philip's statements as to the condition of the coloured people, and especially as to the decrease of crime by Hottentots after the publication of the fiftieth ordinance; they declared their conviction that a vagrant act was necessary for the welfare of the coloured people themselves, inasmuch as those who were inclined to be industrious were impoverished by idle acquaintances; and they asserted their belief that such an act was urgently required for the protection of the farmers.

The governor now saw that the ordinance could neither be withdrawn nor passed without great difficulty. On the 31st of July it was read a second time, and the council then went into committee, when the governor proposed to obtain

information from the judges regarding the existing laws upon vagrancy. This was agreed to, and the discussion was postponed.

The judges sent in an opinion that vagrancy was made a crime by various placards issued in Holland between the years 1531 and 1649, which after the occupation of the colony became law here; and that certain clauses of the Dutch ordinance for the administration of the country districts were still in force, except where repealed by later enactments. But they were of opinion that "no law for the suppression of vagrancy could be carried into effectual operation in respect of Hottentots or other free persons of colour lawfully residing in this colony, so long as the second section of the ordinance number fifty stood unrepealed, in so far as it enacted that no Hottentot or other free person of colour lawfully residing in this colony should be subject to any hindrance, molestation, or imprisonment of any kind whatsoever, under the pretence that such person had been guilty of vagrancy, unless after trial in due course of law."

In other words, there were laws, long regarded as obsolete, which could be revived and put in force against European vagrants, but not against Hottentots and other free persons of colour. The chief justice was further of opinion that only the supreme and circuit courts could take cognisance of charges of vagrancy. He afterwards changed his views with regard to the second clause of the fiftieth ordinance, but the other judges adhered to theirs, so that the matter was involved in doubt.

Meantime great activity was displayed by Dr. Philip and several of the missionaries of the London society, who considered the laws against theft and trespass ample to meet the case. Petitions against the ordinance were drawn up and signed by every Hottentot under their influence, young and old. The halfbreeds at the Kat river, however, who possessed some property, refused to give their names, and sent in a memorial in favour of the ordinance. The coloured people in general became alarmed, and repaired in large

numbers to the stations as to places of protection. This movement was then described as the effect of two or three fieldcornets declaring that the Hottentots would soon have the privileges of the fiftieth ordinance withdrawn from them. By Dr. Philip's instructions, the 18th of August was observed at all the stations of the London society as a day of humiliation and prayer to Almighty God that it might please Him to avert the impending evil of a vagrant law.

The opinion of the judges was laid before the council, when it was resolved to request them to draft any amendments that in their view would make the ordinance more workable. They, however, declined such responsibility in their official character, but Mr. Justice Menzies drew up some amendments unofficially. On the 23rd of August these were brought forward by Lieutenant-Colonel Wade, and during several successive days were discussed and adopted.

Another petition was now presented by Dr. Philip. It was of great length, but its substance may be gathered from a few of its sentences. "In the records of this colony, whether Dutch or English," the memorialist had "seen nothing in the shape of a law so appalling to humanity and religion." "The object of the vagrant law was to secure a sufficiency of labourers to the masters on their own terms." "Any law in this colony that would attempt to compel the wilfully idle to labour would be a law which would give back to the masters the whole of the slave population under a law more cruel and dreadful in its operation than the old slavery law of the colony, because the masters having no interest in their lives beyond their immediate services, they would have no checks upon their avarice."

On the 8th of September the ordinance was read a third time by the vote of a majority of the council, the governor, the acting secretary to government, the attorney-general, and Mr. Ebden forming the minority. The governor gave as his reasons for opposing it that several clauses would be regarded in England with apprehension and alarm, and would prejudice the colony in the opinion of the English government

and nation. He had come to the conclusion that the existing laws were sufficient for holding a proper check upon vagrancy. As yet, it must be remembered, he had not been beyond the Cape peninsula, and had to form an opinion from the conflicting statements of the officials and the missionaries of the London society, with the latter of whom he was still in strong sympathy.

After the ordinance was passed by the council, the governor declined to sign it, but transmitted it to the secretary of state to be laid before the king. In England it was disallowed.

There were other causes for uneasiness in the colony in 1834. The wine trade—the most important industry in the country—was in a state of rapid decline, and there was no prospect of its recovery. There was also the depression that is experienced everywhere when revenue falls short of expenditure, when taxation is severely felt, when debt is increasing, and when even the most necessary public works cannot be undertaken.

Still, comparing the condition of the colony in 1834 with its condition in 1819, signs of advancement were not wanting. Recent improvements in buildings and in stock were to be seen everywhere, but especially in the district of Albany, which was dotted over with comfortable farmhouses. The English settlers had overcome their early difficulties, and believed that fair prospects were before them. They were living on the most friendly terms with their neighbours of Dutch origin, and intermarriages were becoming not uncommon. Grahamstown contained six hundred houses and three thousand seven hundred inhabitants exclusive of soldiers. It had four churches—belonging to the English episcopal, Wesleyan, Independent, and Baptist congregations, —good schools, a commercial hall, a savings bank, a benefit club, a reading room, and a newspaper. In other parts of the district there were six Wesleyan churches, an English episcopal church at Bathurst, eight or nine cornmills, and several manufactories of waggons, leather, and tiles. Port

Elizabeth contained twelve hundred residents. The Independents had a place of worship there, and on the 12th of January 1834 St. Mary's church was opened for the use of the English episcopalians. In one respect, however, the town had gone backward, as in February 1832, owing to the necessity for retrenchment, an ordinance was issued substituting for the resident magistrate a special justice of the peace.

A large section of the eastern people was agitating for separation from the western districts. They were of opinion that there should be a strong government near the Kaffir border, as from that quarter danger was always threatening. At the beginning of 1834 they sent Mr. Thomas Philipps as a delegate to England with petitions to that effect to both houses of parliament. At that time there was not even a commissioner-general for the eastern province. Captain Stockenstrom, who found that he possessed no real authority and who was jealous of the military commandant, Colonel Somerset, in March 1833 applied for six months' leave of absence, and went to Europe. Captain Campbell, civil commissioner of Albany and Somerset, was directed to act as commissioner-general; but Mr. Stanley, secretary of state for the colonies, abolished the office altogether from the 1st of January 1834, and issued instructions that Captain Stockenstrom should retire with a pension of £300 a year.

There had been a great expansion of mission work throughout the colony. The old associations continued their activity, and others had entered the field. The Rhenish society was founded in 1828, and during the next year three missionaries were sent to this country. They established themselves first at Stellenbosch, but soon afterwards, being reinforced, they founded stations in other parts of the colony and beyond the northern border. The Berlin society was founded in 1824. In 1834 four of its missionaries arrived in South Africa, who were speedily followed by others. The first station occupied was Beaufort West, but they soon spread themselves among the Koranas, Betshuana, and Xosas in and beyond the colony.

CHAPTER XX.

SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN, GOVERNOR—(*continued*).

THE SIXTH KAFFIR WAR.

For a long time previous to 1834 the troops in South Africa were so few in number that it was impossible to keep a force on the eastern frontier strong enough to overawe the Kaffirs. The garrison, when last mentioned, consisted of the 38th, 54th, and 72nd regiments. In November 1821 the 6th regiment of foot arrived, and in February 1822 the 72nd was removed. In March 1822 the 38th and 54th were replaced by the 49th and 55th. In August 1824 the 98th arrived from England, and in March 1825 the 6th left for Bombay. In October 1828 the 49th was replaced by the 72nd, which regiment had formed part of the garrison seven years before. In August 1830 the 75th arrived, and in the following month the 55th was removed. There were thus in the colony in 1834 three regiments of the line—the 72nd, 75th, and 98th—consisting of less than fifteen hundred men all told, besides a few artillerymen and engineers.

In December 1827 as a measure of retrenchment the infantry of the Hottentot regiment were disbanded by order of the secretary of state, and the cavalry—at its full complement two hundred and fifty rank and file—was thereafter termed the Cape Mounted Riflemen.

For the same reason—retrenchment—in March 1825 the Albany levy was disbanded, and the British settlers were placed on the same footing for military purposes as the earlier Dutch colonists.

Of the troops, two battalions of infantry and a company of artillerymen were in garrison in Capetown and Simonstown.

Distributed among six different posts on the frontier were the Cape mounted rifles, two hundred and forty-seven officers and men, the 75th regiment of the line, five hundred and thirty-three officers and men, and fifty-five artillerymen and engineers. Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Somerset was commandant of the frontier and agent of the government for dealing with the Xosas. His headquarters were at Grahamstown, but a great portion of his time was spent in active duty in the saddle. Lieutenant-Colonel Richard England, of the 75th regiment, was stationed in Grahamstown, and commanded the garrison there.

During the winter of 1834 the eastern border of the colony was in the condition often described as worse than open war, actual war during nominal peace. Cattlelifting from the farmers of Albany and Somerset was carried on by the Kaffirs to an extent seldom equalled in previous years, and a very small proportion of what was stolen could be recovered. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, however, was still of opinion that the people who were giving so much trouble could be induced by conciliation and kindness to live as good neighbours. This opinion was strengthened when in September and October the robberies almost ceased, owing to messages which he sent to the chiefs that he was disposed to enter into arrangements which would be of great advantage to them, and that he trusted they would keep their people in order until he could visit the frontier.

The details of the arrangements could only be settled after he had become acquainted with the condition of affairs by personal inspection and inquiry, but the chiefs were led to believe by an agent of Dr. Philip—if not by Dr. Philip himself—that a large portion of the unoccupied land west of the Tyumie and Keiskama would be given to them. It was with this reward in view that for a short time they put restraint upon their people.

Two months' waiting for the appearance of the governor, however, exhausted the patience of the Kaffirs, and in November thefts were renewed as before. Tyali's people

were particularly active in this respect, and also frequently caused a great deal of annoyance by entering the ceded territory and making kraals there. The troops were worn out in driving them back, for as soon as a patrol retired, the Kaffirs who had been expelled returned over the boundary. The soldiers were not allowed to fire upon them, and no blood was shed in these wearisome operations.

About the middle of November four horses were stolen from a farm on the Koonap, and the spoor was clearly traced by the owner to one of Eno's kraals within the ceded territory. So clear was the spoor that Eno himself was obliged to admit it, and upon being requested to do justice, he promised either to restore the stolen property or to make good the loss with horned cattle. The owner of the horses waited five days at the kraal, and then, finding that the chief had no intention of doing anything in the matter, he reported the circumstance at Fort Willshire.

At this time in cases where theft was clearly traced to a kraal and was undisputed, compensation could be demanded, but ample opportunity was to be given to the chief to make good the losses before force should be used. Accordingly the officer in command at Fort Willshire sent a message to Eno, requiring him to restore the horses or to pay cattle to the amount of their value within eight days, failing which a patrol would be sent to take compensation.

The notice was disregarded, so on the 2nd of December Ensign Robert Manners Sparks, with four farmers and eleven men of the Cape mounted rifles, left the fort to enforce the demand. It was not usual to entrust such duties to officers under the rank of lieutenants, but in this instance there was no one except an ensign available. Sparks, whose whole thoughts were expended in the study of mathematics, was one of the youngest officers in the corps, a good-natured, but simple and awkward lad, quite incapable of commanding the respect of Kaffirs.

On arriving at the kraal, an altercation with the headman took place, which ended by the ensign seizing forty

head of inferior cattle, of about the market value of the stolen horses. There were very few men at home at the time, but when the patrol was about eight miles on the return journey a large body of warriors under Casa, one of Eno's captains, rushed suddenly out from a place of concealment. The ensign caused a volley to be fired over the heads of the Kaffirs, which checked them for an instant, though no one was hurt by it. But until their firearms could be reloaded, the farmers and soldiers were now almost helpless, and there can be little doubt that they would have been massacred, if Stokwe, Eno's son, had not ridden up at the critical moment and ordered the assailants back. The patrol then proceeded with the cattle, but about a mile from Fort Willshire as Ensign Sparks was riding in the rear he was attacked by a Kaffir, who sprang upon him from a small thicket, and gave him a severe wound with an assagai. Fortunately he was rescued by his men in time to save his life.

Colonel Somerset with a strong escort of Cape mounted riflemen then proceeded to the Gwanga, and sent a message to Eno desiring a conference. In the evening of the 4th the chief arrived with a large armed following, having previously removed the women and cattle of his clan to the left bank of the Keiskama. The least accident would have produced a collision, but Colonel Somerset managed matters so skilfully that Eno admitted he was in fault, and expressed regret that an English officer had been wounded. Colonel Somerset then demanded that Casa and the people under him should leave the ceded territory, and that Eno should restore all the horses and one hundred and fifty head of the horned cattle recently stolen, or should forfeit the permission given to him to reside west of the Keiskama. The chief agreed to these terms, and on the following day gave up one hundred and thirty-seven head of horned cattle and thirteen horses.

The explanation of this affair was not known until nearly a year later, when it was ascertained that Eno's people were

at this time ready for war, but that the old chief himself, though not very strongly opposed to it, objected to being the means of forcing it on.

On the morning of the 10th of December Lieutenant William Sutton, of the 75th regiment, was sent from Fort Beaufort with a sergeant and twelve men of the Cape mounted rifles to expel a party of Tyali's followers from a kraal recently built on the ridge between the Mankazana and Gaga rivers, and to endeavour to obtain compensation for some horses belonging to officers at the fort that had been stolen by those people and clearly traced to them. The lieutenant found the intruders defiant and unwilling to remove. He managed, however, to burn their huts and to seize some oxen, which he informed them would be detained until the stolen horses were given up. The oxen were the personal property of Tyali, and according to Kaffir custom taking possession of the cattle of a chief is equivalent to a declaration of hostilities. But this circumstance was entirely unknown to any individual in the patrol.

As soon as the soldiers set out to return, the Kaffirs attempted to surround them, which was only prevented by the lieutenant ordering a shot or two to be fired. From this moment a kind of running skirmish was kept up to within a short distance of Fort Beaufort, when the sound of the musketry brought out a relieving party, and the Kaffirs withdrew. Night had already set in. One soldier and two horses were wounded, and the cattle had been retaken. On the other side two men were killed and two were wounded, one of the latter—Koko (correct Kaffir spelling Xoxo) by name—being a brother of Tyali. His wound was a mere scratch, so slight that two days afterwards it could hardly be seen; but by the Xosa chiefs the drawing of the blood of a descendant of Tshawe was put forth as a very serious matter.

During the night between the 11th and the 12th signal fires blazing on every prominent hill between the Keiskama and the Bashee announced to all the warriors of the tribe

that the time for gathering had arrived. Still the missionaries and traders in the country had no thought that an invasion of the colony was about to take place. Several traders were ordered by the chiefs to leave Kaffirland, and they reported the circumstance to Colonel Somerset, but regarded it merely as a new form of the indignity to which for some time they had been subject. On the 18th of December Colonel Somerset wrote to the governor that he had not interfered with the orders of the chiefs, but had notified to them that if personal injury were inflicted on unprotected traders, he should immediately punish such conduct with severity. "Indulgence and forbearance," he said, "had been tried to their extreme limits with the Kaffirs; the result had been a more continuous system of depredations, and at length open defiance."

On the 20th of December, while the Xosas were massing along the border, an attempt was made by Makoma and Tyali to entrap Colonel Somerset, who was then at the Kat river post. The reverend William Chalmers, missionary at the Tyumie, was desired by Tyali to write to the colonel, requesting him with two attendants to come over to the station, where the chief would meet him with the same number of councillors, and they could then discuss matters concerning the condition of the country. After the letter was sent away the mission-house was surrounded by some hundreds of armed men, who lay in ambush until a reply was received, declining Tyali's invitation.

On the evening of Sunday the 21st of December 1834 a body of warriors, variously estimated from twelve to fifteen thousand in number, began to cross the border along its whole length from the Winterberg to the sea. Makoma's men, who were in advance, passed the Kat river just below Fort Beaufort. Tyali's followers were next, and kept farther inland. Nearer the sea warriors of the clans under Umhala, Siyolo, Botumane, and Eno, with many Galekas and Gunukwebes, crossed the Fish river at various fords. In ten or twelve days the whole of the open country was

laid waste nearly as far west as the village of Uitenhage, and from the sea inland to the village of Somerset East. The women and children were permitted to escape with their lives, but every defenceless man encountered was murdered.

The number of white men who thus perished was twenty-two, by name Stephanus Buys, John Shaw, Robert Cramer, Thomas Mahony, H. W. Henderson, Alexander Forbes, Albert Kirkman, Jan Theodore Ferreira, Pieter de Jager, Nicolaas van der Meulen, Frederik Silverhoorn, S. Turner, — Newman, James Blakeway, — Liebergeld, Carel Matthys, Willem Matthys, Cornelis Engelbrecht, John Brown, Philip Whittaker, Samuel Webber, and F. Dougal. Some of these were surprised and put to death without an opportunity of resistance, others were treacherously struck down when confiding in promises of safety, others again fell after a desperate struggle for life.

In this great raid and in other less destructive inroads during the next few months the invaders burned four hundred and fifty-six houses, and drove off five thousand seven hundred and fifteen horses, one hundred and fourteen thousand nine hundred and thirty head of horned cattle, and one hundred and sixty-one thousand nine hundred and thirty sheep and goats. Altogether, property officially valued at £300,401 10*s.* was destroyed or swept away.

An instance of marked humanity must be recorded in contrast with this dark scene. There was a Xosa named Sitamba in the service of Mr. Thomas Mahony, at the place known as the clay pits, near the Fish river. Mahony's son-in-law Henderson, who was a resident of Grahamstown, was there with two of his children on a visit. When the men were murdered by a party of Kaffir raiders, Mrs. Mahony escaped with one of the children. Sitamba took the other, a boy of about three years of age, carried him all the way to Grahamstown, and delivered him safely to his relatives there.

Fortunately, intelligence of the invasion spread very rapidly, and most of the farmers had time for flight with

their families to the towns and villages. In some places it would have been possible to save much property if there had been any one on the spot with sufficient authority to collect a few men and form a lager. But the disallowance of the ordinance number ninety-nine left the people without organisation in this time of need. The fieldcornets were powerless, for no one but the civil commissioner had a right to call together an armed force, and thus each individual was obliged to rely on his own resources alone.

To Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Theopolis, Salem, Bathurst, Grahamstown, and Somerset East, whichever place was nearest, the fugitives made their way as best they could. Grahamstown, being the centre of a thickly populated district, was soon crowded with destitute people. Bathurst was in a bad position for defence, and the Kaffirs threatened to besiege it. On the 29th, therefore, the village was abandoned, and its inhabitants with the refugees who had taken shelter there removed to Grahamstown under protection of an escort.

Meantime all the trading stations in Kaffirland were pillaged. In some places the traders, after being robbed of everything, were allowed to live; but at others they were murdered. Ten of them—by name Edwards, Kent, Budding, Cane, Robert Rogers, George Iles, James Warren, William Hogg, John Stamford, and Robert Hodges—thus perished.

Colonel Somerset with the small force under his command was unable to do anything towards checking the invasion, and fearing that communication between the different posts might be cut off and some of them be overpowered, he abandoned the three farthest in advance. The garrison of Fort Willshire fell back to Fort Beaufort, the garrison of the Gwalana post was sent to hold a hill commanding the lower ford of the Fish river, and the garrison of the Kat river post was removed to a very strong position which received the name Fort Adelaide.

Grahamstown at this time presented a piteous spectacle. St. George's church was turned into a watch-house and an

asylum for destitute women and children who had escaped from farms. Some of the adjacent houses were also occupied by fugitives, and the streets leading to them were barricaded, so that in the event of the town being attacked, all who were not combatants could take shelter there. Every man who had a gun was performing military service, and those who had horses were constantly scouring the surrounding country in small bodies, aiding fugitives, endeavouring to recapture cattle, and falling upon parties of the invaders whenever they could do so. Ammunition was very scarce, and great care had to be taken not to waste it.

To this scene of misery, on the 2nd of January 1835 the post from Capetown brought a few copies of the *Commercial Advertiser* of the 27th of December, containing ill-judged comments upon Colonel Somerset's recent transactions with Eno, and displaying strong partisanship with the Kaffirs. The poor people were looking and praying for sympathy and aid, and they felt that if the views of the reverend Dr. Philip and the newspaper which supported him were generally held, they might look and pray in vain. An advertisement was therefore drawn up, and was inserted in the *Grahamstown Journal* of that afternoon, "imploring all who would not wilfully be made instrumental in stifling the cries of the widow and the fatherless for protection to use their best endeavours to suppress the circulation of the *Commercial Advertiser* during the continuance of the present awful crisis." The advertisement was signed by three hundred and thirty-five individuals, among whom were the leading men of the frontier, those who had taken the most active part in promoting Christian missions, and the clergymen of every denomination in the town.

A report that swarms of Kaffirs were crossing the boundary reached Capetown by express in the afternoon of the 28th of December, but particulars of the invasion were not received until two days later.

The military officer in the colony next in rank to the governor was Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards Sir Harry)

Smith, a man of talent and experience, having entered the 95th regiment in March 1805, and served in the expedition to Monte Video, in the peninsular war, in the last war with the United States, and at Waterloo. He had been deputy quartermaster general at the Cape since the 24th of March 1829. It was arranged that he should proceed with all haste to the frontier, and assume command there until the arrival of the governor. He left Capetown at daylight on the 1st of January 1835, and at the hottest time of the year rode on horseback to Grahamstown, a distance by the road of nearly six hundred miles, in less than six days. He had full authority over all the inhabitants—military and civil—in Albany, Somerset, Uitenhage, George, Graaff-Reinet, and Beaufort, as those districts were placed under martial law by a proclamation of Sir Benjamin D'Urban on the 3rd of January.

The garrison of the Cape peninsula consisted of a few engineers and artillerymen, the 98th regiment of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John M'Caskill, and the 72nd highlanders, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Peddie, a veteran who had lost an arm at Salamanca. The highlanders—four hundred and fifty-eight officers and men—and thirteen artillerymen were sent to the frontier as quickly as possible. Two brigs, named the *Kerswill* and the *Mary Jane*, were chartered by the government, and sailed for Algoa Bay on the 2nd of January with as many soldiers as could be taken on board. Admiral Sir Thomas Bladen Capel, recently appointed to the East Indian command, happened to be here on his way out, and placed the ship-of-war *Wolf* at the governor's disposal to convey stores to Algoa Bay and if necessary to assist in the defence of Port Elizabeth. The *Wolf* sailed from Simon's Bay on the 5th of January, and reached her destination on the 9th. The ship-of-war *Winchester*, belonging to the South African command, was employed as a transport, and a coasting schooner was chartered to aid in the conveyance of supplies. A few of the troops were sent overland in waggons.

On the 31st of December the chief Tyali required the reverend Mr. Chalmers to write a letter to Colonel Somerset, proposing a cessation of hostilities on condition that matters should remain as they were. Mr. James Weir, a lay missionary of the Glasgow society, was sent to Captain Armstrong's post with it. At that time fifty or sixty thousand head of horned cattle and as many sheep had been driven over the Keiskama, and as one band of warriors was returning with spoil, another was entering the colony in search of more. It was evident that Tyali's object was merely to secure his plunder. A reply was therefore sent rejecting his proposal, and a similar answer was returned to a communication of like nature from Makoma.

Colonel Smith arrived at Grahamstown on the 6th of January 1835. He at once took measures for placing the town in a condition for defence, and began organising forces to act against the enemy. The burghers of the districts beyond the ravaged territory were beginning to come in, and all over the colony there were many Hottentots without occupation, whose services were available. These men, though not inclined to labour steadily, were well adapted to form an auxiliary corps for field operations. Colonel Smith enlisted them, and empowered Mr. George Wood, an energetic colonist, to clothe and equip them.

In a store in Grahamstown there was a quantity of thick baize which had been imported for the Kaffir trade, but which was found to be unsaleable to those people. It was bought up and rapidly turned into uniforms for the Hottentots. Upon this transaction and a few others of the same kind, in which three or four colonists derived large profits, rested the charge subsequently made by the advocates of the Kaffirs, that the white people had caused the war for the sake of military expenditure. Altogether nearly thirteen hundred Hottentots were levied, about eight hundred of whom acted as auxiliaries to the regiments of the line, and two hundred and seventy-five were attached provisionally to the Cape mounted rifles.

On the 10th of January a well-equipped cavalry corps, consisting of seventy-six British settlers, ninety burghers of Uitenhage, and forty Cape mounted riflemen, under command of Major William Cox, of the 75th regiment, left Grahamstown and made a dash across the Fish river. The patrol surprised Eno's kraal, and in a skirmish killed several men, among them a son and two brothers of the chief. One burgher was severely wounded. The huts were destroyed, but very few cattle were recovered. Major Cox then proceeded to Fort Willshire, which he found much damaged by fire. He next visited Tyali's kraal in the Tyumie valley. Upon his approach the kraal was abandoned, so he burned the huts, and returned to Grahamstown by way of the Kat river.

The object of this movement was twofold: first to draw the Kaffirs out of the colony, and secondly to prevent the Hottentots at the Kat river from joining the enemy.

These Hottentots had not been molested by the Kaffirs, and the impression was general both among the Xosas and the Europeans that they would take part against the white people. There was good ground for this belief, as it had been instilled into the Hottentots by injudicious teachers that they were oppressed by the government and the colonists, and had no friends except the missionaries. An attempt on a recent occasion to collect a small tax from them was represented as an act of the grossest tyranny, and the people were worked into a state narrowly bordering on sedition. Such instruction, which bred discontent, and led them to look to a protective power between them and the government, could only result in evil. At a later date it became known to a certainty that most of the Hottentots at the Kat river had actually been wavering.

Subsequently it also came to light that some of the soldiers who were connected with these people were ready to rebel. In the garrison of Fort Willshire before its abandonment there were twenty-five Hottentots of the Cape mounted rifles, and a party of them arranged with

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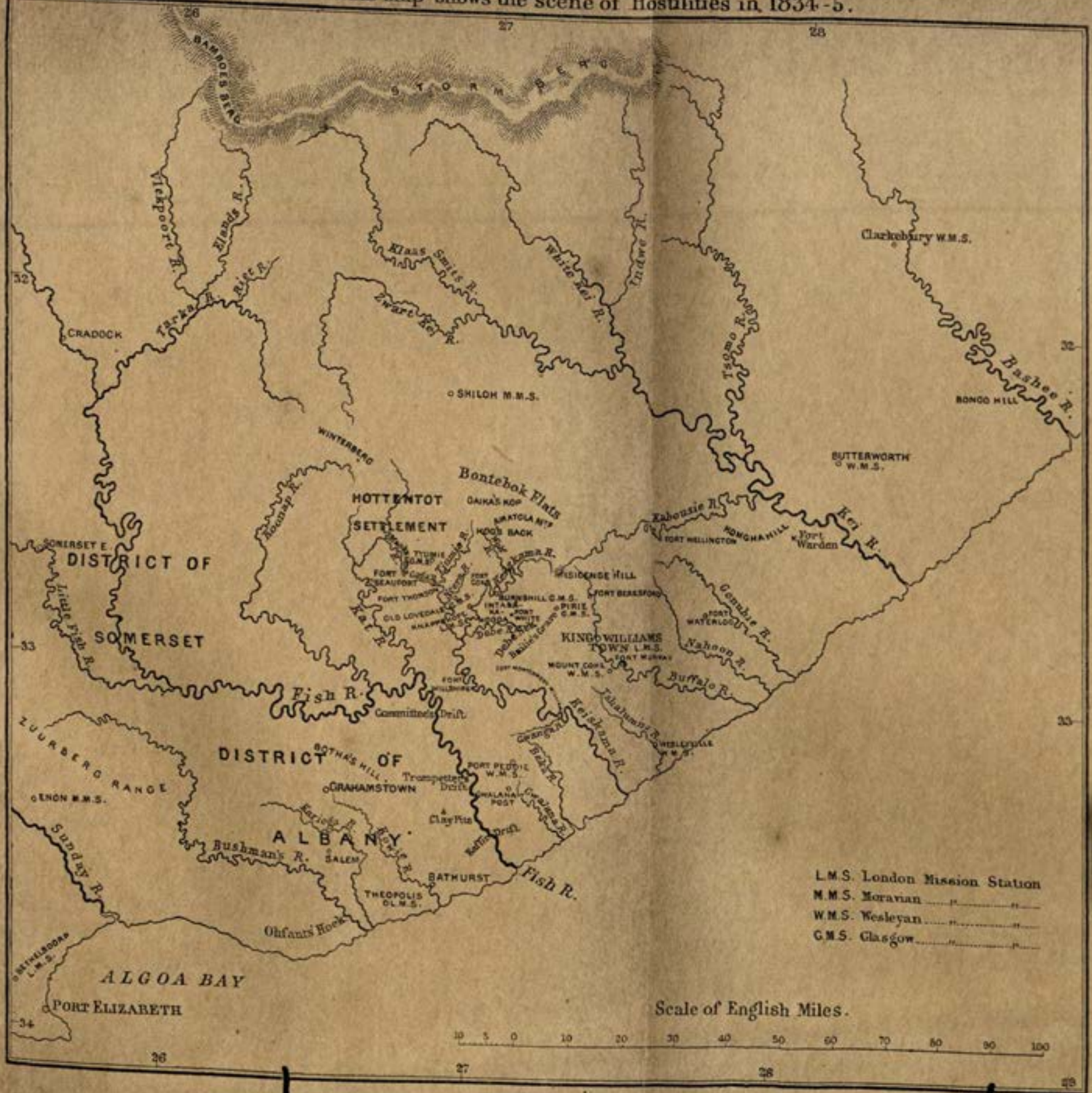
This map shows the scene of Hostilities in 1834-5.



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Makoma to betray the post. A strong body of Kaffirs lay in ambush in the vicinity for some hours, expecting a signal to enter and take possession; but either no opportunity occurred or the hearts of the conspirators failed them.

The half-breeds who formed the reverend Mr. Thomson's congregation, however, were thoroughly loyal, and under their fieldcornet—Christiaan Groepe by name—at once took up arms on the colonial side. This and Major Cox's demonstration enabled Captain Armstrong to induce nearly the whole of the Hottentots to repair to Fort Adelaide with their women and children, and when once they had committed themselves their adherence was made tolerably certain. The reverend Mr. Read was not permitted to visit them during the continuance of the war. By these means the Kat river Hottentots, with very few exceptions, were prevented from acting in concert with the Kaffirs, and the loyalty of the Cape mounted riflemen was preserved.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bell was empowered by Sir Benjamin D'Urban to carry on the administration with the advice of the executive council and under the title of the provisional government. On the 8th of January Sir Benjamin embarked at Simon's Bay in the ship-of-war *Trinculo*, and on the 14th reached Algoa Bay. At Port Elizabeth and at Uitenhage he inspected and approved of the arrangements for defence, and having done what he could to obtain more men for the front, he hastened to Grahamstown, where he arrived on the 20th. He had passed through a devastated country, with nothing but ruins to mark where comfortable homesteads had recently stood. To the secretary of state he wrote that he could not adequately point out the horrors by which a beautiful and fertile province had been almost converted into a desert.

In Grahamstown there were nearly two thousand refugees, many of whom had saved no property whatever, and were therefore absolutely destitute. One of the first measures of the governor was to appoint a board of relief, consisting of the clergymen of different denominations and

a few other leading men, for the purpose of alleviating the misery of these poor people. To the board, through its chairman, power was given to draw upon the assistant commissary general for such provisions, clothing, and medicines as were urgently needed. But there were destitute refugees in many places besides Grahamstown, and other aid than that afforded through the assistant commissary general was required. The board of relief therefore appealed to the charitably disposed throughout the colony and abroad, and in course of time £3,737 in money was raised. The governor headed the subscription list with a donation of £150. Including the Hottentots at the Kat river, nearly twelve thousand individuals at one time or other during the war received assistance through the agency of this board.

It was known that the lives of the missionaries and of some of the traders in Kaffirland had been spared, but that these people were in great discomfort and anxiety. The three Gunukwebe captains, Pato, Kama, and Kobe, had not joined their countrymen against the colony, though many of their followers had taken part in the invasion and shared in the spoil. The captains remembered their ancient feud with the Gaikas, and they hoped by siding with the Europeans to recover the territory between the Beka and Fish rivers, which was theirs before 1819. At the same time they could shut their eyes if some of their people went out and returned with a good drove of cattle. They offered protection not only to the missionary and trader at Wesleyville, but to any other white men who could get to their country. The Tinde captain Tshatshu, who lived where King-Williamstown now stands, professed to be neutral in the war. But during the preceding half century the Tinde clan had been constantly getting weaker, and Tshatshu's following was so small that he was unable to protect himself or anyone else. The reverend John Brownlee was stationed with this clan, and when his cattle were driven off and a trader who took refuge in his house was threatened

with death, he thought it best to get away. Under cover of night Mr. Brownlee, his family, and the trader made their escape, and managed to reach Wesleyville in safety. The reverend Mr. Dugmore, missionary at Mount Coke, also took shelter at Wesleyville, as did the families of several traders in the neighbourhood.

A strong body of volunteers from Port Elizabeth, under guidance of Messrs. Henry Fynn and Theophilus Shepstone, both of whom spoke the Kaffir language fluently, then proceeded to the station and brought out the white people, nearly a hundred in number. The captain Kobe also accompanied the party to Grahamstown, where he placed himself at the disposal of the governor as a hostage for the good conduct of his brothers Pato and Kama.

On the 20th of January the families of the reverend William Chalmers and Mr. James Weir were conducted from the Tyumie mission station to Fort Adelaide by a military patrol sent to rescue them.

At Burnshill on the upper Keiskama—a station of the Glasgow society founded in June 1830—there were several families protected by Sutu, great widow of Gaika, who had always been friendly to white people, and at this time was anxious to keep in favour with the colonial government on account of the boy Sandile. It was impossible for her not to be jealous of Makoma, or apprehensive that he might try to supplant her son. Her rank gave her influence, and several of the old councillors of the clan, who were with her, were men whom all Kaffirs respected. She promised protection to any Europeans who could get to Burnshill, which was close to her residence; and accordingly the mission families from the Pirie—a station of the Glasgow society founded in May 1830 — and from the London society's station Knappshope made their way to that place as best they could. The trader at Knappshope was murdered, but four others nearer the mountains escaped to Burnshill. There the only danger was that they might be killed in a sudden tumult.

On the 26th of January Major Cox with a strong escort reached Burnshill, and brought out the four traders and the families of the missionaries Laing, M'Diarmid, Ross, and Kayser. In returning, the patrol passed by old Lovedale, on the Ncera—a station of the Glasgow society founded in November 1824,—and was joined there by Mr. John Bennie and his family. In all, thirty-five individuals were rescued on this occasion. Matwa and Tente, two inferior sons of Gaika, who were attached to the reverend James Laing, accompanied the missionary to Grahamstown, and remained with him until the conclusion of peace.

The clans of Makoma, Tyali, and Umhala retired to the thickets along the Amatola mountains, but the warriors of Eno, Botumane, and Siyolo were still in the broken country between the Sunday and Bushman's rivers, and little bands were wandering from one thicket in Albany to another, gleaning whatever remained of value. Most of the cattle taken from the colonists had been driven into the Galeka country beyond the Kei.

Fort Willshire was now reoccupied, and various posts were established in commanding positions. Strong patrols were constantly pursuing the marauders within the colonial boundary, and managed to shoot a good many and recover a few cattle. Success, however, was not always on the European side. At Fort Willshire one day four soldiers of the 72nd and two Hottentots were cut off and killed within sight of the garrison.

Early in February Colonel Somerset succeeded in clearing the Zuurberg and Olifants' Hoek fastnesses, when the clans of Eno, Botumane, and Siyolo retired to the thickets along the Fish river. There they were joined by the warriors of the other hostile clans, and resolved to make a determined stand.

To attack them a strong force was organised, consisting of several companies of the 72nd and 75th regiments, a troop of the Cape mounted rifles with all the men provisionally attached to that corps, a few artillerymen and engineers,

the burghers of Uitenhage, George, and Graaff-Reinet, the Albany sharpshooters, the Port Elizabeth yeomanry, and the Hottentot levies. This force was formed into three divisions. On the 11th of February the central division under Colonel Smith, who was in chief command, crossed the Fish river at Trompetter's drift, the left division under Colonel England crossed at Committee's drift, and the right division under Colonel Somerset at Kaffir drift, a few miles from the sea.

At daybreak on the 12th the work of scouring the ravines commenced, and was continued until the morning of the 15th, when the Kaffirs almost as by one movement abandoned the thickets of the Fish river and fled across the Keiskama. They were believed to have lost seventy-three men, and they left behind about four thousand head of horned cattle and a considerable number of horses, sheep, and goats. The loss on the European side was heavy. Seven burghers—W. Western, John Goodwin, Richard Bland, Frederick van der Schyff, Pieter and Hillegard van Rooyen, and Caspar Loetz—were killed, also four soldiers of the 72nd regiment, one of the 75th, and one of the Cape mounted rifles. Other twelve men were severely wounded.

The Kaffirs, who were far from being disconcerted by these reverses, at once resolved to act on the aggressive again, so on the 19th of February Tyali's warriors made a raid into the Kat river settlement, and attacked the military post there. They were beaten back, however, with heavy loss. Field-cornet Groepe, who had command of the half-breeds at the settlement, and on several previous occasions had displayed marked ability and bravery, was of great service in assisting to repel this attack.

It is not necessary to trace the movements of either the colonial forces or the Kaffirs for some weeks after this event, further than to indicate that the object of the governor was to collect men and supplies for an invasion of Kaffirland, and the object of the chiefs was to recover the fastnesses of the Fish river valley, which were guarded by military encampments.

On the 6th of March a party of Kaffirs surprised the post at Trompetter's drift, where a raft was being constructed for the purpose of conveying commissariat supplies across the river. Captain Harries, the officer in command, seeing that he could not maintain the post, abandoned it, when four colonists—Thomas Titterton, Francis Clark, Thomas Bilston, and Robert Shaw—were killed in trying to escape. Four Hottentots also fell on this occasion.

The burghers of George and Uitenhage, under Commandant Jacobus Ignatius Rademeyer, were at once sent to recover the position. They succeeded in doing so, but the commandant and forty men were surrounded in a wooded ravine which they had entered to examine, and in fighting their way out five colonists—Adam Boshof, Jan Bernard, Jan Meyer, Andries van Zyl, and Hermanus Wessels — were killed, and eight were wounded. It was necessary to scour the Fish river fastnesses again, and before the Kaffirs were driven from them, four more white men were killed and five were wounded. The Xosas retired to the ravines along the Amatola mountains.

On the 19th of March the plans for an invasion of Kaffirland were completed. The force ready for this service consisted of twenty-five artillerymen with six field guns, three hundred and seventy-one officers and men of the 72nd regiment, three hundred and fifty-eight Cape mounted riflemen, the mounted burghers of Swellendam, George, Graaff-Reinet, and Somerset, one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven men, the Beaufort volunteers, sixty-two men, the corps of guides, forty men, and the Hottentot levies, seven hundred and sixty-one men, altogether one thousand nine hundred and ninety-seven cavalry and one thousand one hundred and fifty-seven infantry. This force was under the direct orders of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, with Lieutenant-Colonel Smith as second in command. It was formed into four columns, respectively under Lieutenant-Colonel Peddie, Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, Major Cox, and Commandant Stephanus van Wyk.

The line of defence, which was to cover the Fish river fastnesses and occupy all the posts on the frontier, was placed under Lieutenant-Colonel England's direction. It consisted of twenty-four artillerymen and engineers, four hundred and sixty-one officers and men of the 75th regiment, thirty-one men of the Cape mounted rifles, nine hundred and eighty-three burghers, and Groepe's half-breeds and Hottentots, five hundred and two men, in all six hundred and eighty-eight cavalry and one thousand three hundred and thirteen infantry.

In February, and again in March, Commandant Van Wyk, by order of the governor, opened communications with Hintsa, the paramount chief of the Xosa tribe, in which he was called upon to restore the cattle that had been driven over the Kei and to cease assisting the Rarabes, under pain of being declared an enemy of the colony. As head of the tribe he might have been held responsible for the conduct of the subordinate clans, even had he done nothing to aid them; but a difficulty in dealing with him existed through the action of the colonial government in former times, first in treating Gaika as a sovereign chief, and then in treating Gaika, Ndlambe, and Dushane as all alike sovereign and independent. After that it would have come with very bad grace for an English governor to hold Hintsa responsible for acts of his sub-chiefs. It was therefore not as their head that he was called to account by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, but as their ally and active assistant. He, however, took no steps to comply with the governor's demands.

Communications were also opened with the chiefs of the Tembu and Pondo tribes, in the rear of the Xosas, with a view of securing their neutrality. Mr. Henry Fynn was sent by sea from Algoa Bay to Port Natal, and then made his way overland to the Umzimvubu. The Pondo tribe at that time occupied the broken country between the Umzimvubu and Umgazi rivers, a tract of land formed by nature to be one great fortress. Cooped up in this stronghold,

which was almost impenetrable by a foe, the tribe was secure against attack by the Zulus; but whenever sections of it ventured out of their sheltering place, they were fallen upon and dispersed by the Bacas under Ncapayi, who bore them an inveterate hatred. The Pondos were thus in a condition of extreme poverty.

Under these circumstances Mr. Fynn found the chief Faku not only willing to declare himself a friend of the colonists, but eager to attack the Xosas on one side while Sir Benjamin D'Urban was doing so on the other. The opportunity to become possessed of a good stock of cattle presented itself very forcibly to his imagination, and he lost sight of the fact that he had no means of preserving a drove of oxen if he should acquire them. After a time, however, his ardour cooled, and he began to see a difficulty in the way of making a raid on the Xosas. Between him and them were the Tembus, who would certainly not permit spoil to pass through their territory without sharing it. Then there was Ncapayi, whose warriors might intercept his march. These considerations caused the plan of attacking the Xosas to be abandoned; but Faku engaged to prevent them from taking shelter in his country, and it was certain that if anything in their possession should come within his reach they would at once be deprived of it.

The Tembu tribe at this time was governed by a man named Vadana, who was acting as regent during the minority of Umtirara, son and heir of the late chief Vusani. It was not by any means as strong as the number of its warriors would indicate. Vusani had taken as his great wife a woman named Nonesi, daughter of the Pondo chief Faku; but by her he had no children. Umtirara was therefore adopted by the great house from a minor branch of the establishment, and a regent governing in the name of a child in this situation could not have much power over factious clans. The people had not recovered the losses sustained in the Zulu wars. Among them were many refugees driven down from the north, and though these nominally recognised

the Tembu supremacy, in reality they acted as they chose. Then there was the large and rapidly growing clan under Mapasa, son of Bawana, on the border of the Cape Colony, at a distance from the rest of the tribe and virtually independent of it.

Vadana was sufficiently astute to see that friendship with the colony would be to his advantage. When the white people in the Xosa territory were being despoiled, he offered protection to all who could reach his country, and several families took refuge at the Wesleyan mission station Clarkebury near his kraal. Nothing can illustrate the condition of Tembuland better than the fact that shortly afterwards Vadana applied to the white men at Clarkebury for assistance against the Bacas under Ncapayi, who were about to attack him. The traders joined his army, and one of them—Robert Rawlins by name—was killed in action. The assailants were beaten back, but a large tract of country was laid waste, and a great many Tembus lost their lives.

To Sir Benjamin D'Urban's communication Vadana replied that he was ready to give all the assistance in his power, and would place his warriors at the disposal of a British officer if the governor chose to send one.

Beyond the mountains on the north also the newly-formed Basuto tribe was ready to seize plunder wherever it could be obtained. When intelligence reached Thaba Bosigo that the Xosas had invaded the colony and swept off immense herds of cattle, Moshesh decided without delay to turn the event to account. At the head of seven or eight hundred men he crossed the Drakensberg, ravaged several Xosa kraals, and seized three or four thousand head of cattle. He was then attacked by a superior force under Hintsa, and lost most of his plunder. In this expedition his brother Makhabane was killed.

CHAPTER XXI.

SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN, GOVERNOR—(*continued*).

CONCLUSION OF THE SIXTH KAFFIR WAR.

ON the 31st of March 1835 the advance guard of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's army crossed the Keiskama near Fort Willshire, and entered Kaffirland. The Rarabe clans had taken shelter in the country along the base of the Amatola mountains, between the sources of the Tyumie and the easternmost tributary of the Buffalo. More beautiful scenery than this belt of land presents to the eye is nowhere to be found in South Africa, but it is a very difficult country for warfare by Europeans. It is a succession of vales and ridges, deep gorges, patches of dense forest, grassy glades studded with mimosas, and rivulets which after heavy rains rush downward in foaming torrents. As a background the mountain rises above the line of forest, its peaks of varied form and tint standing out clear and sharp against the sky. Like all the great ranges parallel to the coast, this, which on the side towards the sea appears as a mountain chain, is really the edge of an extensive tableland. Viewed from the interior plain, the peaks and domes seen from below dwindle into hummocks standing on the margin. In the winter season snow often lies for days together on the highest parts, such as Gaika's Kop and the Hogsback, but never descends to the valleys below.

Three divisions of the army and part of the fourth were employed in scouring the country at the base of the mountains. The remainder of Commandant Van Wyk's division was sent by way of the Kat river to the plain above, which is called the Bontebok flats. The objects of this movement

were to prevent cattle being driven out in that direction, to intercept any parties that Hintsa might send to the assistance of the Rarabes, and to cut off communication with the emigrant Tembus, who had been making petty raids into the Tarka, though the chief Mapasa professed to be friendly.

Mapasa was a man of less than average ability among his fellows, and was exceedingly surly; but the missionaries at Shiloh were of opinion that he was in earnest in wishing not to embroil himself with the colonial government, and that the plundering expeditions against the colonists were chiefly undertaken by recent refugees from the Tembu country or by members of little bands that had once been subject to Mtshalela. A small Tembu clan under a captain named Kwesha, who was not on good terms with Vadana, and who was independent of Mapasa, had also recently settled in the country east of the Zwart Kei. The condition of matters in that territory was thus unfavourable to order, and some months before the war commenced Colonel Somerset expressed regret that the force at his disposal was so small that he could not establish a military post on the Zwart Kei. Sir Benjamin D'Urban now decided not to treat the emigrant Tembus as enemies, but to prevent communication between them and the Rarabes. This was one of the reasons for sending a strong body of mounted burghers to patrol the Bontebok flats.

From the 2nd to the 10th of April operations were continued along the Amatola mountains, with such success that about fifteen thousand head of cattle were recovered, and the Kaffirs were driven from every point where they attempted to make a stand. One of the most active of the burgher officers was the veteran commandant Jacobus Linde, who led the Swellendam contingent. He was seventy-five years of age, and had served with marked ability in four other Kaffir wars. The loss of the Europeans was one colonist—Lloyd by name—and three soldiers killed, and five soldiers, four burghers, and two Hottentots wounded. By

the 10th the Xosas had given up all attempts to resist, and merely sought safety in concealment. Most of the Hottentots who had joined them, and who were formidable on account of being armed with guns, now surrendered.

On the 11th of April the first division moved towards the Kei. The second division, which was composed entirely of cavalry, proceeded towards the coast, with instructions to scour the country in that direction, and then join the commander-in-chief in Hintsa's territory. The third division, under Major Cox, was directed to continue harassing the Kaffirs along the Amatola mountains, and to prevent them rallying in force. The division of burgher cavalry under Commandant Van Wyk was required to form a line extending from the Tyumie valley to the Moravian station Shiloh on the Klipplaats river. It was thus in a position to guard the upper country and at the same time to strengthen the line of defence under Colonel England.

On the 15th Sir Benjamin D'Urban with the first division crossed the Kei. On the left bank of the river two Galekas were seen, one of whom—a councillor of Buku—called to the white people and asked if they knew what stream it was. He was informed that they knew it was the Kei. He then asked why they crossed it, as the country to the eastward belonged to Hintsa, who had taken no part in the war. He was told that it was not the governor's intention to act in a hostile manner if Hintsa would comply with the demands already made, and with that message he was sent to the chief. Five days were allowed for a definite answer.

The assertion that Hintsa had taken no part in the war was only true with regard to him as an individual, and not as chief of the tribe. Many Galekas, his immediate subjects, assisted the Rarabes to lay waste the districts of Albany and Somerset. Tens of thousands of cattle brought out of the colony were at that moment in his territory, having been driven there for protection, and not only so, but the greater number of the cattle belonging to the Rarabes had been placed in the safe keeping of his retainers. The

trading stations in his country had been pillaged, and though the lives of the traders had been spared, two of them—by name Thomas Eccles and Robert Horton—had received very cruel treatment during a detention of thirty-six days before they were permitted to retire to Clarkebury. The missionary families at Butterworth had been threatened in such a manner that they thought it necessary to leave. With all this to his charge, Hintsa wished to make the Europeans believe that he was acting as a neutral in the war.

He was a poor specimen of a Xosa, this paramount chief of the tribe, in intellect and in demeanour infinitely beneath Kreli, his son, who was in later times so often in arms against the European power in South Africa. His mother was a daughter of the Tembu captain Tshatshu, and a sister of Bawana. From her he inherited, or was commonly believed to have inherited, several odious vices. He was without affection for anyone, sensual in a very high degree, and cruel to ferocity, but withal wily and plausible. His great redeeming feature was personal bravery. To the colonial government he ought to have acted in good faith, for in 1828 he had received assistance against the Amangwane which saved him from ruin, and he had no grievance of any kind against a white man. In acting as he did, he could therefore have had no motive except love of plunder.

When the troops crossed the Kei a general order was issued that the country about to be entered was not to be treated as an enemy's, and that on no account was any act of violence to be committed against the people or their property. Following the line of the present high road, the army then moved forward, and on the 17th of April reached Butterworth. The mission buildings were found in ruins, having been destroyed as soon as the reverend Mr. Ayliff retired to Clarkebury. Here, on the 20th, the second division, under Colonel Somerset, rejoined the commander-in-chief. It had scoured the country along the Gonubie

river to the sea without meeting any resistance, and had destroyed some kraals and secured a couple of thousand cattle.

Shortly after the arrival of the governor at Butterworth, a number of Fingo captains made their appearance at the camp, and solicited protection. Among them were six men named Umhlambiso, Jokweni, Mabandla, Matomela, Umsutu, and Jama, who were respectively chiefs of remnants of the Amahlubi, Amazizi, Amabele, Amareledwane, Abasekunene, and Amakuze tribes.

The Fingos, whom these headmen represented, differ slightly in appearance and much in disposition from the Xosas. The taint of Hottentot blood gives the Xosas a lighter skin, and may be the cause of their greater instability of character. The Fingos are comparatively industrious, as they came from a country where the cultivation of the soil was largely depended upon for means of subsistence. The Xosa is careless, thriftless, quick-tempered, proud, and impulsive; the Fingo is plodding, calculating, acquisitive, and cold-blooded. At first despised by the Xosas on account of their miserable condition, the Fingos soon became detested owing to their talents in overreaching.

The two peoples were thus not on friendly terms, and there were many instances in which individual Fingos were subjected to oppressive and cruel treatment. They were liable to be reviled, robbed, and assaulted almost at will, for they could get no satisfaction against a Xosa in the court of a chief. Still they were not slaves in the sense that they could be transferred from one owner to another. They were in possession of tracts of land of considerable extent, they were under the government of their own captains, and they were not prevented from carrying arms.

The application of the Fingo headmen caused the governor to adopt a large plan for the settlement of border difficulties. It involved the removal of the hostile Rarabe chiefs and their most turbulent adherents to the territory

east of the Kei, the settlement of the Fingos between the Fish river and the Keiskama, and the location of the so-termed friendly Rarabes between the Keiskama and the Kei. These latter were Sutu and her son Sandile; Nonibe, great widow of Dushane, with her son Siwani; Umkayi, son of Ndlambe; Mafwa and Tente, inferior sons of Gaika; and Tshatshu, captain of the Tinde clan; each with a small body of followers. Those adherents of the hostile chiefs who had not personally taken part in the great raid into the colony or in the murder of the traders were to be allowed to attach themselves to any of these clans. The Gunukwebe captains Pato, Kama, and Kobe were also to have a large tract of land assigned to them east of the Keiskama.

The five days allowed to Hintsa to reply to the governor's demand expired without his attending to it. The Fingos were then taken under British protection, and preparations for their removal were commenced. In the meantime Captain Henry Douglas Warden with a troop of the Cape mounted rifles was sent to Clarkebury to relieve the white people there, and returned with sixty-five Europeans, missionaries, artisans, and traders, with their families. The missionaries were the reverend Messrs. W. Satchell, T. Palmer, J. Ayliff, and W. J. Davis, respectively of the stations Buntingville, Morley, Butterworth, and Clarkebury. Twenty-four Hottentots and five hundred and twenty-four Fingos, who had attached themselves to the Europeans, also accompanied the relief party on its return. When Clarkebury was abandoned, the only station occupied by missionaries in any part of Kaffirland was Shiloh, on the Klipplaats river.

On the 21st of April a British settler named Armstrong, then serving as an ensign in the colonial force, was sent to the colony with despatches, and was provided with an escort of thirty men. On the road he very imprudently loitered behind the escort, and was murdered by some Galekas. Information of this event was conveyed to the camp, when

a patrol was sent out and found the body with five assagai wounds.

On the 24th, nine days after the passage of the Kei by the colonial army, one of Hintsa's councillors, who had come to the camp and was believed to be a spy, was sent by the governor to the chief with a declaration of war. On the following day the first division moved to the Zolo river, a tributary of the Tsomo, leaving the second at the camp close to Butterworth.

Colonel Smith with a strong patrol of burghers and Cape mounted riflemen now began to scour the country, and between the 24th and 28th of April succeeded in capturing about fifteen thousand head of cattle. Captain Warden also with a troop of the Cape mounted riflemen joined the Tembu regent Vadana, and on the 27th attacked one of Hintsa's kraals on the Bashee and took four thousand head of cattle.

By these movements the chief was convinced of the power of the European forces in his country, and on the 29th of April, under the governor's pledge of personal safety, he came to the camp with fifty followers. There on the following day terms of peace were concluded. Hintsa undertook to deliver twenty-five thousand head of horned cattle and five hundred horses immediately, and the same number of each at the expiration of a year; to cause Makoma, Tyali, Eno, Botumane, Umhala, and Siyolo to cease hostilities and to surrender their firearms; to punish with death one of his people who murdered a trader named William Purcell in his territory on the 13th of July 1834 for no other offence than refusing to sell goods on a Sunday; and to pay three hundred head of good cattle to each of the widows Purcell and Armstrong. For the due fulfilment of these terms Hintsa agreed to give two hostages, and voluntarily offered himself as one. His brother Buku came to the camp shortly afterwards, and remained as the other.

Thereupon hostilities ceased, and on the 2nd of May the first division began to move towards the colony. Before it

reached the Kei, information was received from Colonel Somerset, who had been left near Butterworth with the second division, that by order of Hintsa and Buku the Xosas had commenced to attack parties of Fingos, had murdered several, and that a general massacre was imminent. The governor thereupon threatened Hintsa that if the Fingos were further molested, he and all the Xosas with him would be held responsible, and would be hanged, as by this act the assurance of personal safety which had been given to him was forfeited. The chief seemed to consider the murder of the Fingos a matter of no great importance, but finding his own life endangered thereby, he issued an order to his people to cease molesting them, which was at once obeyed.

The attack upon the Fingos, however, was not an act of wantonness, for the Xosas had been sorely provoked. As soon as the Fingos were assured of British protection and of removal to a new country, they commenced to seize cattle to take with them, and what followed was the natural result of such conduct.

On the 6th of May Colonel Somerset moved from Butterworth with these people, and on the 14th reached the district in which it was intended the greater number of them should be located. This was the block of land between the Keiskama and Fish rivers, and the roads running eastward through Trompetter's and Committee's drifts. The reverend John Ayliff was stationed at a suitable place with this party of Fingos. Another, but much smaller, party was located on the banks of the Gaga streamlet. A census taken as they crossed the Keiskama showed that they were in round numbers two thousand men, five thousand six hundred women, and nine thousand two hundred children. They had twenty-two thousand two hundred head of cattle, which they had seized from the Xosas during the last few days with impunity, as the owners feared that resistance would cost the life of their chief. No one has ever attempted to justify their being

allowed to carry off so much plunder, and the only excuse that it is possible to make is that Sir Benjamin believed the cattle to be the property of the Fingos themselves. But there were men with him who knew better, who could have told him that only a few years before these people had reached the Galeka country as destitute fugitives from their own homes in the distant north, and that no opportunity had ever occurred of their becoming honestly possessed of so much property.

While the first and second divisions of the invading force were engaged beyond the Kei, the third and fourth divisions continued to follow up the Rarabes, without, however, being able to do them much injury. It was believed by the Europeans that they had lost all heart, and would be glad to accept reasonable terms of peace. Accordingly, on the 4th of May Colonel Smith issued a notice and caused it to be communicated to them, offering that if they would surrender their arms they could keep all the cattle then in their possession, except such as belonged to colonists, and promising that none would be detained as prisoners except chiefs, who would be well treated while awaiting the king's pleasure. It was intended to remove them to the territory beyond the Kei. But to the surprise of the British officers no one accepted the conditions, for in reality the Rarabes regarded themselves as very far from subdued.

On the 10th of May Sir Benjamin D'Urban issued a proclamation—repeated in Grahamstown on the 16th of June—by which the country from the border of 1819 eastward to the right bank of the Kei from its source in the Stormberg to the sea was annexed to the British dominions. To this territory the name Province of Queen Adelaide was given.

After the issue of the proclamation the first division of the army crossed the Kei, leaving only five hundred men on the eastern side. Hintsa had not yet delivered the cattle according to the agreement of the 30th of April, and from the point of view of himself and his people it was excusable

that he had not done so. The reception of the Fingos as British subjects, and the protection which enabled those refugees to rob the Galekas of their choicest herds, in their opinion cancelled all previous arrangements.

But instead of openly assigning this as the cause of his not fulfilling his agreement, and claiming a deduction of his debt to the extent of the number of cattle driven off by the Fingos—a claim which Sir Benjamin D'Urban could not have refused to admit,—Hintsa gave as an excuse that his followers would not obey his orders to bring in the oxen and cows which the Rarabes had placed in their charge. He was naturally reluctant to leave his people and his territory, and when he saw that he was about to be taken as a hostage across the Kei, he proposed to the governor that a patrol should be sent with him to collect the cattle, while his son Kreli (correct Kaffir spelling Sarili) and his brother Buku should remain in the British camp. His object—though unsuspected at the time—was to make his escape, and for the fate of his son and his brother he was without concern. Sir Benjamin D'Urban consented to the proposal, and Colonel Smith with five hundred men marched towards the Bashee to carry it out.

On the second day of the march, while following the spoor of an immense drove of cattle, the patrol came to a very steep hill, and all except Colonel Smith dismounted to spare their horses. The colonel was riding in advance. Next came the chief and his attendants, carrying bundles of assagais as was their usual custom, and leading their horses, the one which Hintsa had in hand being a remarkably strong animal. The top was a long and nearly level ridge, and having gained it, Hintsa mounted and suddenly dashed forward at full speed. The troops were still toiling up the path.

The chief was pursued by Colonel Smith and Messrs. William Shaw and George and William Southey, of the corps of guides. The colonel overtook the fugitive, and galloping at headlong speed by his side called to him to

stop, but he would not. The colonel drew a pistol and tried to fire, but as the cock snapped twice he threw it away, and grasping the chief's kaross pulled him over. Hintsa quickly sprang from the ground, and hurled an assagai at his opponent, which fell short, as the horse would not be reined in. In another instant he was running down the side of the hill. Mr. George Southey called to him in Kaffir to stop, and as he took no heed, fired and slightly wounded him. A second shot inflicted a wound which must in time have proved mortal, though the chief lost none of his agility after receiving it. Southey and another followed down the hill, but Hintsa reached a thicket at the bottom before them. Here, while Southey was searching about, he heard behind him a sound caused by the rattle of an assagai against a rock. Turning round, he saw Hintsa almost within arm's length, in the very act of quivering an assagai, and on the impulse of the moment he fired. The chief fell with his skull blown away. Some wretch, whose name is unknown, had the barbarity afterwards to cut off the ears, and in that mutilated state the corpse was carried by a party of soldiers to the nearest Kaffir kraal and left there. He was buried by his own people at the foot of the Bongo hill, in the present district of Willowvale.

Continuing his march, the same evening Colonel Smith crossed the Bashee, and on its right bank captured three thousand head of cattle, some of which were recognised as the property of colonists. Next morning very early with a party of picked men he pushed on farther, leaving a strong guard with the captured cattle. During his absence Lieutenant White, who was mentioned in a preceding chapter as one of the successful breeders of merino sheep, was killed by Kaffirs. This gentleman held the position of major in a volunteer corps, and being an experienced surveyor and draughtsman was employed in making a chart of the country. He left the cattle-guard, and with an escort of only four Hottentot soldiers went to the top of a hill to get the bearings of prominent points in the surrounding country.

While thus engaged, a party of Kaffirs crept stealthily up and killed him and one of the Hottentots. His body was recovered, and was buried by his comrades on the bank of the Bashee.

Colonel Smith did not succeed in obtaining any more cattle, and on the 17th of May with his patrol he recrossed the Kei. About a thousand Fingos joined him during the march, and accompanied him to the province of Queen Adelaide.

When information of the death of Hintsa reached Sir Benjamin D'Urban he immediately had an interview with Kreli, with the result that on the 19th of May an agreement was concluded with the young chief. The terms were that there should be peace between the contracting parties; that Kreli should recognise and respect the Kei as the colonial boundary; that he should deliver the cattle which his father had undertaken to surrender; that he should receive into his territory east of the Kei the clans of Makoma, Tyali, Eno, Botumane, Umhala, and Siyolo, and not permit them to recross the river without permission from the governor; and that he should not in any way molest the Tembus under the regent Vadana. Kreli was then permitted to return to the people whose chief he had become. Buku remained a hostage for the fulfilment of the agreement made by Hintsa, and was detained two months in Grahamstown; but was then set at liberty.

In the meantime efforts to induce the Rarabe chiefs to submit to the governor's conditions were made in vain. Sutu indeed represented that they were in great distress, and through her agency Major Cox had an interview with them at the foot of Intaba-ka-Ndoda on the 13th of May; but they declined even to discuss the question of the removal of their clans across the Kei. They showed clearly that they were still able to resist, not only by their defiant attitude, but by sending raiding parties to a great distance into the colony. Many farms in Albany, Somerset, and Uitenhage had been reoccupied, and their owners were now

again subjected to a course of pillage and destruction of property.

At this time seven Europeans—Jan Greyling, James Jenkins, Mrs. Jacob Trollip, John Bentley, James Jubber, —Chipperfield, and—Faber—were murdered in cold blood in the colony by raiding parties. The first of these, Jan Greyling, had distinguished himself by bravery in the actions along the Amatola mountains. He was returning home on leave when he met his death. His father was one of those who were murdered with Landdrost Stockenstrom in 1812, and his mother some time after that event became the wife of Commandant Pieter Retief, who was destined to meet a similar fate on a more conspicuous field. A little earlier a farmer named Andries de Lange was murdered on the Koonap, and some weeks later a colonist named Tobias Tharratt met his death by the hands of roving Kaffirs at Botha's hill.

The Rarabes were encouraged to continue the war by the language and conduct of the party in the colony that even under these terrible circumstances tried to make it appear that they were right and the white people to blame. The first shot that was fired against a black man made the reverend Dr. Philip an enemy of the governor, and thenceforth all his energy was devoted to supporting the cause of the Xosas. Those who took part with him were few in number, but they spoke and wrote with the knowledge that in England they would have strong sympathy. Public meetings were held in the principal villages of the colony, at which the action of Dr. Philip and his partisans was indignantly condemned, and the governor in various public notices censured their unnatural attitude, but all to no purpose.

The Wesleyan and the Scotch missionaries, the men who had been living among the Kaffirs and who took the deepest interest in their welfare, with one solitary exception—the reverend Stephen Kay, then resident in Europe—supported the government and the colonists, and not only found

themselves abused in English newspapers for doing so, but—the Wesleyans particularly—learned that they were regarded as backsliders by the societies that sent them out. They were taught a lesson indeed that only the most courageous and godfearing among them afterwards dared to disregard: never to run counter to the prejudices of their supporters. The motives of Dr. Philip's party could not be comprehended by the Kaffirs, but they knew that certain white men—who they were told were persons with great interest in England—were advocating their cause, and it led them to believe that by holding out they might at length secure peace on their own terms.

The governor caused a number of forts of very simple construction to be built and occupied in the province of Queen Adelaide. Along the Buffalo river there were three: Fort Beresford—named after one of his aides-de-camp—near the source; one at the site selected for a camp and for the residence of the military officer in command of the province, which on the 24th of May was named King-Williamstown; and one on the right bank of the river about eight miles farther down, which was named Fort Murray after the colonel of the 72nd highlanders. Between the Buffalo and the Kei there were three: Fort Wellington, named after the great duke, on the Gonubie hill near the source of the Gonubie river; Fort Warden, called after Captain Warden of the Cape mounted rifles, on the Impotshana, five or six miles from the Kei; and Fort Waterloo, half-way between these and the sea. On the upper Keiskama was Fort Cox, named after Major Cox, and on the line of communication between Fort Willshire and King-Williamstown was Fort White, named after the worthy colonist who was killed on the Bashee.

In the old ceded territory three new forts were built: Montgomery Williams, on the right bank of the Keiskama, half-way between Fort Willshire and the sea; Fort Thomson, called after the commanding officer of the royal engineers, near the junction of the Gaga and the Tyumie; and Fort

Peddie, called after the lieutenant-colonel of the 72nd, in the centre of the Fingo locations.

The planting season was now well advanced, so on the 23rd of May the farmers were permitted to return to their homes for the purpose of getting in crops of grain. An arrangement was made by which a little assistance was given to those who were utterly impoverished. Of the money lent by Lord Charles Somerset to the sufferers by the flood of July 1822, a portion had been repaid, and was then lying in the government bank. Sir Benjamin D'Urban appointed Mr. Hougham Hudson a commissioner to lend this fund again in small sums to the most distressed of the frontier farmers. It amounted to £6,792, and there was also a sum of £9,019 received for captured cattle sold by auction, which was distributed in proportion to losses sustained.

To this date the whole of the forces in the field were supplied by the government with provisions, but neither the burghers nor the Hottentot levies had received any pay. When the farmers were permitted to return home for a time, the Hottentots were retained in service, and the governor therefore thought it only just that they should have some compensating privilege. From the 1st of June they were paid on the same scale as British infantry.

This arrangement of releasing the burghers and detaining the Hottentots was carried out on the principle that it was for the public good to get crops in the ground, while at the same time it was necessary to keep a force in the field. But the philanthropists in England regarded it as an act of injustice towards the coloured people, and it was one of the most serious complaints afterwards made and repeated again and again concerning the governor.

Undoubtedly the opinions of Sir Benjamin D'Urban had undergone a great change since the outbreak of the war. He had come to know the Kaffirs as they were, and no longer believed them to possess the virtues of civilised Europeans. He had learned much about the Hottentots

also, and had discovered that Dr. Philip's views were greatly distorted. He had ceased to be a philanthropist in the sense in which that word was appropriated by the English societies of the time, but had not lost an atom of his former desire to benefit the coloured races of South Africa. Only he would deal with them as they really were, as fickle barbarians, prone to robbery and unscrupulous in shedding blood, and not as the docile and inoffensive beings they were pictured to be by those who claimed the title of their only friends.

The soldiers, the colonial volunteers, and the Hottentot levies were now kept constantly employed following the Kaffirs from one stronghold to another. The object being to compel them to retire across the Kei, as much damage as possible was done to their cornpits, so as to reduce their means of subsistence in the province of Queen Adelaide. This also was one of the charges afterwards made against Sir Benjamin D'Urban, as if it proceeded from inhumanity, and was not a necessity of war.

On the 11th of June the governor proceeded to Grahamstown to attend to matters connected with the civil administration of the colony, leaving Colonel Smith in command at King-Williamstown.

On the 25th of June Lieutenant Charles Bailie, a young colonist of great promise, left King-Williamstown with twenty-eight Hottentots to assist in scouring a kloof near Intaba-ka-Ndoda. The party was surrounded by a large number of Kaffirs, and on the 27th was brought to a stand not far from the abandoned mission station Pirie. There, when their ammunition was expended, the whole were killed. Some days afterwards the dead bodies were found by a patrol, and were buried on the spot, which is still called Bailie's grave. The comfortable home which this colonist had created by his industry was burned to the ground, and his young widow, who had been obliged to flee from it for her life, was left so destitute that the only property she had in the world beyond her personal attire

was a bible found in her dead husband's knapsack and forwarded to her.*

On the 20th of July a boat from a little coasting schooner named the *James* put ashore at the mouth of the Tshalumna river to procure wood and water. About fifty Kaffirs approached, who at first seemed friendly, but presently seized some firearms which the seamen had with them. Two of the sailors ran into the sea, and managed to swim off to their vessel; the other two were stabbed to death with assagais.

As soon as the seed grain was in the ground a notice was issued to the burghers that they must prepare to take the field again. But by this time the governor was convinced that even if he could drive the Rarabes across the Kei the means at his disposal were insufficient to keep them there, and he was inclined to make peace on terms that would admit of their remaining in the province of Queen Adelaide

*An unusual interest is attached to the fate of this young man, owing to his father, Mr. John Bailie, having been the head of one of the large parties of British settlers of 1820, and to the effect which his death had upon his family. The old man was utterly ruined in purse by the war, but grieved little about that. The loss of this son, however, caused him to become careless and reckless. When the great emigration which will be treated of in a future chapter took place, he with another son and their families went beyond the Orange river, and there several years later in a quarrel caused the death of a farmer named Duplooy. For this offence John and Thomas Bailie were tried by the circuit court at Uitenhage in April 1846, were found guilty of murder, and were sentenced to be hanged. This sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life, but some months later additional evidence was given by Duplooy's widow which showed the act to have been committed in defence, as the prisoners had all along maintained. In December 1847, therefore, they received a free pardon, that being the legal manner of release from confinement. At this time a brother of the elder Bailie was in command of a regiment in India. The misfortunes of this family, once among the most thriving on the eastern frontier, naturally called forth strong expressions of sympathy in Lower Albany. A few months after his release Mr. Bailie, senior, removed to Natal. On the 27th of July 1852 the barque *Hector*, from Batavia bound to Bremen, ran ashore on the coast in a calm. Mr. Bailie went on board to render assistance, but, owing to change of weather, was unable to return to the shore again, and on the 29th he and five others were drowned.

under military supervision. The reverend William Boyce, one of the ablest and most devoted of the Wesleyan missionaries, suggested a plan by which communications could be opened with the chiefs of the hostile clans without compromising the government, and Sir Benjamin gladly availed himself of it.

Early in August the reverend Messrs. William Boyce, William Shepstone, and Samuel Palmer, Wesleyan missionaries well known by the Kaffirs, proceeded to Pato's residence on the Beka. Although the Gaika and Gunukwebe clans bore no love to each other, there were close matrimonial connections between the families of the chiefs, and several women were found willing to convey messages to their relatives who were in the Amatola fastnesses. The missionaries sent assurances of sorrow for the condition of the chiefs, and advised them to apply to the governor for merciful terms, stating as a matter of private opinion that in such case less onerous conditions than their expulsion from the country west of the Kei would perhaps be imposed, recommending them to ask for land to live on under English protection, and promising to intercede with his Excellency on their behalf. The chiefs were also informed that it was the governor's intention to collect a very strong burgher force again, and to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour, so that no time was to be lost if they accepted the advice given.

The women easily ascertained where Makoma and Tyali were to be found, and they delivered the message correctly. The chiefs, who were anxious for peace provided it did not imply the loss of their land, at once determined to follow the counsel of the missionaries. Accordingly, on the 15th of August they sent an envoy to the officer commanding a patrol in their neighbourhood to ask for a conference. Major Cox and Captain Warden consented, and met Makoma and Tyali, who were attended by six or eight hundred men, fully three hundred of whom were armed with muskets. A suspension of hostilities was agreed to until the governor could

be communicated with, and Captain Warden immediately set out for Grahamstown with the intelligence.

The governor directed the captain to return and inform the chiefs that if they would agree to become British subjects and to submit to restraint in a few small particulars which were named, he would grant them peace. In pursuance of these instructions, Colonel Smith, Major Cox, and Captain Warden held another conference with Makoma and Tyali, who were attended on this occasion by about four thousand well-armed men. They elected to accept the conditions, and it was arranged that they should meet the governor at Fort Willshire on the 11th of September, and settle the details of the agreement.

All this time nothing was heard from England concerning relief. Under very favourable circumstances a reply from the imperial government to a letter from Capetown could be received in from four and a half to five months, but usually a much longer time was taken. In this instance the English ministry believed that military aid was not needed, and consequently none was sent out.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban had left instructions that in case reinforcements from England should reach Capetown or Simonstown while he was on the frontier, they were to be sent forward with all possible haste. On the 18th of August the transport *Rodney* arrived in Simon's Bay from Cork with the 27th regiment, five hundred and forty officers and men, but she brought no information concerning these troops except that their destination was the Cape Colony. As soon as refreshments could be taken on board, she sailed again for Algoa Bay, and on the 8th of September the 27th regiment marched into Grahamstown. Ten days later Sir Benjamin D'Urban received a letter from Lord Fitzroy Somerset, dated the 8th of April, in which he was informed that the 27th was sent out to relieve the 98th, and not to strengthen the force under his command. The governor, however, took the responsibility of keeping both regiments in the colony.

The arrival of these soldiers and the assembling of the farmers again, which took place at the same time, greatly strengthened the hands of Sir Benjamin D'Urban in the negotiations which followed, though neither the troops nor the burghers were called upon to take an active part in the field.

On the 8th of September the governor arrived at Fort Willshire, and on the 11th Makoma, Tyali, Eno, and some others proceeded there to meet him. But now a difficulty arose in the fact that the Kaffirs during the truce had continued their depredations in the colony just as in time of war. The governor therefore gave the chiefs a few days to prove their earnestness by recalling their followers. When this was done, on the 17th of September Makoma, Tyali, Eno, Kusha for Sutu and her son Sandile, and Fadana for Botumane, attached their marks to a document, in which they agreed to become British subjects and to live in submission to the general laws of the Cape Colony, though retaining their own laws and customs for the domestic government of their people; to surrender all the muskets in their possession; and each to pay a fat ox yearly in token of fealty. On the other part, the governor agreed to protect them in person and property, and to assign for their use the land between the Tyumie and Kei rivers from the ridge of the Amatola mountains to a line passing along the Keiskama river from the junction of the Tyumie, the Debe river, the Debe neck, the Pirie mission station, the Isidenge hill, and the Kabousie river, with reservation of the right to take ground for roads, outspan places, churches, schools, magistracies, military posts, and other public purposes. Anta, having joined Makoma at the commencement of the war, was regarded by the governor as one of that chief's captains, and was therefore not included by name in this agreement, though he was one of the consenting parties.

At the same time and place a precisely similar arrangement was concluded with Umhala, Siyolo, and a captain named Gasela, in which they had land assigned to them

between the Kei and Nahoon rivers from the sea up to a line running a mile south of the high road from King-Williamstown to the principal ford of the Kei. Gasela here named was a grandson of Rarabe by a minor wife, and had emerged from obscurity during the war.

On the same day, at the Beka, the Gunukwebe captains Pato, Kama, and Kobe, who had been regarded as allies of the colony, affixed their marks to a document of like import, in which the land assigned for their use was the territory between the Fish and Buffalo rivers, from the sea up to a line running from Kaffir drift on the Fish river to Ford's drift on the Buffalo. Thus they were rewarded for the part they had taken by the restoration of their ancient possessions east of the Fish river and by the addition of a large tract of land west of the Buffalo.

In these arrangements land adjoining Burnshill was apportioned to Sutu and Sandile, adjoining the Tyumie mission station to Matwa and Tente, on the right bank of the Buffalo above the Gunukwebe line to Nonibe and her son Siwani, who during the war had been living on the Beka with the reverend Mr. Dugmore under colonial protection, and in the same neighbourhood to Umkayi. It was further stipulated that no Kaffir should cross the western boundary of the locations without a pass from a government commissioner, or armed, under penalty of being shot.

The only land in the province of Queen Adelaide left ungranted after the clans were finally located was the narrow tract between the Buffalo and Nahoon rivers, which the governor reserved for occupation by white people and free communication between King-Williamstown and the sea. But he intended to strengthen the European element on the border by allotting to colonists all the ground in the territory ceded by Gaika in 1819 that was not in possession of the Hottentots at the Kat river, or the Gunukwebes and the Fingos near the sea.

The leading events of the war have been related, but the misery which it caused to the colonists has only been partly

pointed out. Those who were murdered or fell in action were not by any means all whose lives were lost. Care, anxiety, and distress brought many men and women to their graves, and the number would have been enormously increased if rations had not been furnished by the military commissariat to those who must otherwise have perished of want. About sixty thousand head of cattle had been retaken from the Kaffirs, but four-fifths of these were either lost again, died from fatigue and poverty, or were slaughtered for the use of the forces in the field. It was one of the hardships of the war that a farmer often assisted to recapture his own cattle, and afterwards saw them used by the army. Another hardship was that supplies of grain, waggons, &c., were requisitioned from those who had them, and promises of payment could not be met for want of funds. When the accounts were adjusted, it was ascertained that the cost of the war to the imperial government, or the excess of the military expenditure above that of the previous year, was £154,000. The ordinary military expenditure was £96,000.

The loss of men by the Kaffirs was considerable, though it cannot be accurately stated. According to the reports of the commissioners who were employed to locate the clans, about four thousand had fallen, but shortly after the conclusion of peace the Kaffirs began to deny that the number was anything like as large as that. Without a roll-call there could be no absolute certainty, for in bush warfare much was founded on conjecture. Their kraals were burned, but the erection of new huts was easy, and this was not regarded by them as of much importance. It was of greater consequence that large quantities of maize and millet had been destroyed, and that cattle—the chief wealth of the Kaffirs—had almost disappeared from the province of Queen Adelaide. The Rarabes had taken nearly twice as many from the colonists as had been retaken from them, but the waste during the war was enormous. Cows were driven about from place to place while their calves were perishing, oxen were slaughtered recklessly to furnish a single meal.

When hostilities ended, the Galekas declined to give up the cattle that had been placed under their care, so that the Rarabes found themselves in a condition of great poverty. Fortunately for them, it was the planting season for maize and millet, and there was sufficient seed left.

The only people who gained by the war were the Fingos. From being outcasts, they had become possessed of land and cattle, and were now an organised community in a fair way towards prosperity. As they had lost their principal chiefs, they could be brought under European influence more easily than the Xosas, and as their existence depended upon the support of the colonial government, it was tolerably certain that they would do nothing to annoy the settlers in Albany. It must be observed that with their occupation of the territory along the left bank of the Fish river near the sea, the Bantu race had taken another step in that southward march which had been going on steadily for centuries.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

CHAPTER XXII.

SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN, GOVERNOR—(*continued*).

ABANDONMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEEN ADELAIDE.

THERE was again peace in the land. The settlement was not indeed as satisfactory as if the restless Rarabe chiefs and the most turbulent of their followers had been removed beyond the Kei, but the colonists recognised that the governor had made the best arrangements possible with the limited means at his disposal.

Colonel Smith was left at King-Williamstown with military control over the province of Queen Adelaide. Sir Benjamin D'Urban's plans were to encourage the settlement of Christian missionaries—not political agitators—among the Kaffirs, to prevent the clans from fighting with each other, to suppress the cruel practices connected with accusations of having dealt in witchcraft, to guide and control the chiefs in the government of their people by stationing respectable European agents with them, to prohibit the sale of munitions of war and intoxicating liquors while promoting commerce in useful articles, and generally to embrace every opportunity to foster a love of industry and order and an advance towards civilisation by the new subjects of the British crown.

To carry out these plans several officers of ability and merit were selected. Mr. Hougham Hudson was appointed agent-general, in which capacity he was to be the medium through whom the subordinate agents were to receive instructions and correspond with the government. He was stationed at Grahamstown, where he was also to perform the duty of resident magistrate. Mr. Theophilus Shepstone,

who had served as an interpreter during the war, was placed in his office as a clerk.

As agent with the Gaika, Imidange, and Amambala clans, Captain Charles Lennox Stretch, previously an officer in the Cape regiment, was selected. Captain Stretch was fond of maintaining that coloured people could easily be raised to the intellectual level of Europeans, and he held some fanciful theories with regard to miscegenation; but he was an energetic and kindhearted man, and was possessed with an ardent desire to be of use in improving the condition of the Xosas. He was stationed at Fort Cox.

Mr. Richard Southey, one of the most active and intelligent officers of volunteers who had come under the governor's notice during the war, was placed with the clans of Tshatshu, Umkayi, and Siwani, the last of whom was under the guardianship of his mother Nonibe. These clans occupied the country between the Buffalo and Keiskama rivers from the Gaika line on the north to the Gunukwebe line on the south. Mr. Southey was stationed at Fort Murray.

With the clans under Umhala and Siyolo between the Nahoon and Kei rivers, Mr. Fleetwood Rawstorne was appointed agent, and was stationed at Fort Waterloo.

With the Gunukwebes Mr. John Mitford Bowker was appointed agent, and was stationed at Fort Peddie, as he was also to be superintendent of the Fingos.

The agents were to act practically as controllers of the chiefs, though they were to avoid giving offence, and were to appear as friendly advisers in social and general matters. They were to take preliminary examinations in cases of murder, rape, arson, assault, and theft; and if the evidence was sufficient, were to send persons charged with such crimes to the military commandant to be tried by court martial until a simple code of laws could be framed and sanctioned by the imperial government. A small body of Kaffir police was enrolled to assist them. To the chiefs was left power to try petty criminal cases and all civil cases

whatever, including disputes depending upon their marriage customs.

A census was taken, and it was ascertained that the Xosas west of the Kei numbered in all seventy-two thousand seven hundred souls. Of these, seven thousand five hundred were Gunukwebes, nearly a thousand were Tindes, and nine thousand two hundred were under descendants of Ndlambe. With the Fingos, the total number of Bantu between the Fish river and the Kei south of the Amatola range was thus ninety thousand five hundred.

As soon as order was restored, the missionaries returned and resumed their work. The Tyumie, Burnshill, and Pirie stations were reoccupied by the reverend William Chalmers, James Laing, and John Ross, with Messrs. James Weir and Alexander M'Diarmid as assistants at the first two places. Mr. John Bennie re-established the Lovedale station, but as the buildings at the Ncera had been destroyed, he chose a new and much better site, near the junction of the Gaga and Tyumie rivers. These four stations were in the district assigned to the Gaika clans, and were maintained by the Glasgow society, Lovedale, Burnshill, and Pirie being named in honour of Dr. Love, the reverend John Burns, and the reverend Alexander Pirie, who were among the founders of that association. The reverend Frederick Kayser, of the London society, also returned to Knappshope, on the Keiskama, and within the Gaika district.

The reverend John Brownlee, of the London society, the first missionary in the country, resumed his work with Tshatshu's clan. The reverend William Shepstone reoccupied Wesleyville, the reverend William Boyce reoccupied Mount Coke, and the reverend John Ayliff continued at Fort Peddie. The last three were agents of the Wesleyan society.

The governor was desirous that missionaries should return to the stations beyond the Kei as soon as possible, and with a view of trying to effect a reconciliation of the tribes there, who were quarrelling with each other, Captain

P. Delancey, of the 75th regiment, was directed to visit the different chiefs. On the 23rd of January 1836 with an escort of a hundred and ten men he left Fort Warden, of which post he was in command, and proceeded on the journey. He visited in succession Kreli, Vadana, and Faku, and obtained their promises to keep peace with each other and with the colony. Three of Ncapayi's councillors also met him, and in the name of their chief made a similar promise. The reverend Samuel Palmer accompanied the party, and Messrs. William Fynn and Aaron Aldum went with it as interpreters. On the 17th of February Captain Delancey reported himself at headquarters in King-Williamstown, without the least accident having occurred during the journey. Immediately after this the stations of Butterworth, Morley, Clarkebury, and Buntingville were reoccupied by the Wesleyan missionaries.

By the extension of the British dominions to the Kei from its source in the Stormberg to the sea the country occupied by the emigrant Tembus was taken in, though those people had never been declared enemies. The constant strife that prevailed among them and the losses which the inhabitants of the Tarka sustained from their predatory habits, however, made it advisable to bring them under control. To obtain the consent of their principal chief to the act of annexation, Colonel Smith proceeded to the Moravian station Shiloh on the Klipplaats river, and there on the 23rd of October 1835 had an interview with Mapasa. The chief offered no objection to the arrangements that had been made. He engaged to obey the orders of government officers, to assist in preventing his people from plundering the colonists, to restore stolen cattle found in his kraals, and to have nothing to do with the late enemies of the colony. He was then formally taken under British protection.

Beyond the north-eastern border of the colony there was a tract of land partly occupied by farmers, but of which the larger portion was uninhabited except when cattle were driven from Somerset to graze there, or Bushmen from the

neighbouring mountains roamed into it in pursuit of game, or the followers of a roving Basuto chief named Moyakisani —who was called by the Europeans Kaptyn or Captain April —made a temporary abode in it for the same purpose. To bring the wanderers there under the colonial laws, on the 14th of October 1835 Sir Benjamin D'Urban issued a proclamation from Grahamstown, declaring the north-eastern boundary of the colony to be a line from the source of the Kei in the Stormberg to the source of the Kraai on the northern side of the same range, thence along the left bank of the Kraai to the Orange, and thence the Orange to the junction of the Stormberg spruit.

Mr. James O'Reilly, special justice of the peace at Cradock, was sent to obtain Moyakisani's consent, and found him hunting on the banks of the Kraai. On the 26th of December 1835 an agreement was made, by which he and his people were taken under British protection. But he did not comprehend what he was doing. He subsequently became a subject of Moshesh, though as he was a son of Motlomi he was of much higher hereditary rank than his new head. He then went to live at the Koesberg, and in the course of a few years the circumstance of his having once consented to become a British subject was forgotten by all parties to the arrangement.

In the Galeka country shortly after the war disease broke out among the horned cattle, and many thousands died. The chief Kreli was really desirous of effecting a settlement with the colonial authorities, but was reluctant to part with as many oxen as were due according to the terms of peace. He sent in rather more than three thousand head, which for one in his position and with his views must be regarded as exceedingly creditable. An intimation was then made to him that the governor might accept land in payment of the balance, and accordingly he and Buku sent five of their councillors to King-Williamstown, where on the 11th of December an arrangement was concluded with Colonel Smith. The councillors on behalf of the chiefs ceded to the British

government the land five miles on each side of the high road from the Kei drift past Butterworth to the Gona river, with a radius of fifteen miles round the Butterworth station, and thence the right of way to the lower ford of the Bashee in one direction and to Clarkebury in the other. In return the balance of the debt was remitted. This agreement was confirmed by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and thus a matter that might have led to much irritation was removed.

The Gaikas meantime petitioned for an extension of their land, and all that was not vacant west of Tshatshu's location between the Buffalo and the Keiskama was assigned to them.

The whole of the Rarabe country east of the line of 1819 was thus given to the Kaffirs, with the exception of small reserves around the military stations and the narrow belt between the Buffalo and Nahoon rivers. On the reserves the governor intended to allow traders to establish themselves, and to locate parties of Fingos. Along the eastern bank of the Buffalo, as far as the Nahoon, he thought of placing a compact body of white settlers. They would not be more exposed in that position than on the right bank of the Fish river, and they would be protected by a line of forts extending from the sea to King-Williamstown. In this manner the Rarabe country would be divided into two sections. No steps were taken to carry this plan into effect, however, until the approval of the secretary of state should be obtained.

It was regarded as certain that the mouth of the Buffalo river could be used by shipping, though as yet no proper survey had been made. A little later the commissariat department chartered the brig *Knysna*, and on the 19th of November 1836 she arrived there with a cargo of grain. Her master, the same Captain John Findlay who has been mentioned in connection with Lord Charles Somerset's matters, did not think it prudent to attempt to cross the bar, so the grain was sent in with boats. The brig lay at anchor off the mouth of the river until the 31st of January 1837. She was built by Mr. George Rex on the bank of the

Knysna river a short distance below the ford.* The owner's son, Mr. John Rex, brought in her a quantity of merchandise, which he disposed of to traders, taking hides in exchange. The whole cargo was landed and the hides were taken on board without the slightest mishap. Colonel Smith by this time was replaced by Captain Stockenstrom, who was so pleased with the success of the experiment that he named the mouth of the river Port Rex, in honour of the owner of the vessel. The name, however, did not come into general use, and as no ships touched there during the next ten years it dropped out of remembrance.

As soon as the arrangements for the province of Queen Adelaide were in a fair way towards completion, the governor left the frontier, and reached Capetown on the 30th of December 1835, after an absence of nearly a twelvemonth. Never since the days of Father Tulbagh had a South African ruler been as popular as Sir Benjamin D'Urban at this time. His ability, straightforwardness, and warm sympathy with the distressed caused him to be esteemed and beloved. Respectful addresses poured in from all parts of the colony, and at every stage on his return journey to Capetown the people did their utmost to testify their affection and loyalty. Nor was this confined to the farmers and the townspeople. The Moravian, Wesleyan, and Scotch missionaries were equally forward in commending his conduct, and the two missionaries of the London society who were living with the Kaffirs fully approved of the settlement he had made.

Yet neither the colonists nor the missionaries anticipated that cattle stealing would be entirely prevented by that settlement. Every frontiersman knew that no system which could be devised would have such an effect, because theft was not regarded by a Kaffir as a moral offence, and when cleverly performed brought a man credit—not disgrace—in

* She was built of stinkwood, which proved exceedingly durable though somewhat heavy. For many years after this date the *Knysna* was employed as a collier on the English coast.

the eyes of his companions. But the opinion was general in the eastern districts that cattle lifting would be greatly checked by the constant watch that could now be kept upon the principal kraals, and by the certainty that detected thieves would be punished.

Nor did anyone suppose that the Kaffirs would willingly submit to be ruled by European officials. That the chiefs would chafe under restraint was regarded as certain, and that the whole body of the people would object to witchcraft being ignored was fully realised by all who were acquainted with Kaffir thought. They could not in reason be supposed to appreciate a system which in their inmost hearts they believed was giving them over to death and destruction by powers of evil. But under a strong European government it might be expected that the chiefs would gradually lose influence, that the people under kind and judicious treatment would come to see the advantage of the colonial laws, and that the missionaries would have vastly increased opportunities for weakening the force of superstition.

There was, however, a party in Capetown that entirely disapproved of the governor's policy. It was composed of only a few individuals, but it had powerful support from abroad, and its leaders were men of such ability and energy as the reverend Dr. Philip, superintendent of the London society's missions, and Mr. John Fairbairn, editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*. The members of this party desired the formation of states ruled by Bantu chiefs under the guidance of missionaries of their own views, and from which Europeans not favoured by missionaries should be excluded. They maintained the theory that the Kaffirs were an eminently docile and peaceably disposed people, who must therefore have been provoked to take up arms by great wrongs and cruelties. In the opinion of this party, the war had been unnecessarily protracted, and had been conducted by the Europeans in a barbarous manner. By its leaders the sufferings of the colonists were either ignored or

represented as very trivial, while the utmost fear was expressed that the Bantu tribes would perish if exposed to free intercourse with white people.

Time has shown how groundless were such fears, but in 1835 that could not be seen as clearly as it can be to-day. Men were then as it were groping in the dark towards a solution of the difficult question how to protect the colonists without disturbing the rights of the Kaffirs, and the views set forth in the *Commercial Advertiser* could be legitimately held without anyone having just cause of complaint. It was the manner in which those views were forwarded by some members of the party, and the distorted charges against the colonists made in support of them, that excited anger from one end of the country to the other.

As the readiest means of opposing the governor, Dr. Philip visited England, taking with him two men named Jan Tshatshu and Andries Stoffels. The first—a son of the captain of the Tinde clan—had been educated at Bethelsdorp and was a professed Christian, the last was a Kat river resident of mixed Xosa and Hottentot blood, a clever individual, who had been strongly suspected of treasonable intentions during the war. A committee of the house of commons was at the time taking evidence upon the condition of the aborigines of British settlements. Of this committee Mr. Fowell Buxton was chairman, and it is not doing him injustice to say that he was trying less to discover the simple truth than to prove the correctness of statements which he had advanced. This is apparent from the wording of his questions to the witnesses. As he was in full accord with Dr. Philip, the evidence of the latter was received at great length, and was allowed to outweigh that of officers of experience in South African affairs, though it consisted chiefly of opinion and copies of documents, of which—to use the words of a committee of colonists who subsequently caused the original papers to be carefully examined—"only the sentences consonant to his own views were given, while all that was calculated to qualify those

sentences was omitted, without the customary marks of excision."

Jan Tshatshu, whose father's clan was composed of less than a thousand individuals of both sexes and all ages, was represented as a powerful chief, who could bring two thousand warriors into the field. He and Andries Stoffels were examined by the committee, and spoke in accordance with their training. Dr. Philip then went on a tour through England with these men, everywhere attracting crowds of people to see and hear the converts from heathenism, and enlisting supporters for his cause. In stirring addresses, in which the most sublime truths were mixed with fantastic theories, he appealed to those feelings of English men and women which are most easily worked upon. His eloquence was amply rewarded. His tour was described by his admirers as a triumphal procession, in which such incidents were not omitted as Tshatshu and Stoffels taking ladies of rank to the dinner tables of houses where they were guests, and the enthusiastic cheers with which they were greeted on appearing before public assemblies. The cost to the two Africans seems never to have been thought of. Stoffels speedily contracted consumption, and died at Capetown on his way back to his home. Tshatshu became so conceited and so fond of wine that he was utterly ruined, and we shall meet him hereafter expelled from church membership and fighting against the white man.

Before the committee of the house of commons appeared another witness, whose evidence shocked as much as it surprised the colonists. This was Captain Andries Stockenstrom, lately commissioner-general of the eastern province, then a pensioner living in Europe. Though so self-willed and crotchety that his fellow officials of equal rank found it very difficult to work in harmony with him, he was unquestionably an able man. He could form large conceptions of useful projects, he was unremitting in industry, and undaunted in presence of danger. If it were possible to cut out of his life that portion commencing with the day

on which he first appeared before the committee of the commons and ending with the day on which he became a baronet, his claim to be regarded as one of the worthiest of South African colonists would be disputed by no one. Both before and after that period he served his country well and faithfully. But during that time a shadow rests upon him, which neither he himself nor any of those who have attempted to give a favourable colour to his conduct has ever been able to remove.

The evidence that he gave was at variance not only with his own previous acts, but with his official reports and correspondence. This is incontrovertible, as has been shown by the publication of both in parallel columns. A man may change his opinions without any one having a right to blame him, but the case is different when he opposes his own statements of occurrences that came under his personal observation. This is the position in which Captain Stockenstrom placed himself.

Various causes have been assigned for his acting as he did, but perhaps none of them was correct. There was first ambition. The temptation before him was great, so great that he would hardly have been human if it had not presented itself forcibly to his mind. He had only to say what would please the party in power in England, and there was no position lower than that of governor in the colony to which he might not aspire. That Captain Stockenstrom knew this there cannot be a doubt.

Secondly there was strong pique. His mind was warped by jealousy of Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, commandant of the eastern frontier. Full of confidence in his own opinions, impatient of control or suggestion, and resentful of interference with his authority, as commissioner-general he had found himself on many occasions ignored by the governor and at all times practically destitute of power. He had seen Colonel Somerset acting under orders from Capetown without even consulting him. Meekness was no part of his character, and he brooded over such slights and

his own disadvantages when opposed to a man with powerful family influence, until—as he himself said with regard to a fancied wrong done him by another member of the Beaufort family—"his blood was distilled into bile." For many years Colonel Somerset had been the chief executive officer on the eastern frontier, and now there was an opportunity of denouncing as unjust and oppressive all that he had done.

Thirdly there was self-delusion. It was as certain as anything human could be that great changes were about to be made in the relationship between the Europeans and Bantu in South Africa, and as someone would be found to carry them out, why should not he endeavour to be that one, he who would deal more tenderly with his countrymen than a stranger would?

These influences cannot be ignored, but it would not be right—without other ground than the accusations of his opponents—to state that one or all of them caused Captain Stockenstrom to turn round upon his past career.

Before the committee of the commons he gave an account of the death of Sigcawu in 1830, in which the colonial force was represented as a band of robbers and murderers. This statement created intense indignation in South Africa, because it was regarded as certain that Captain Stockenstrom knew it to be untrue. Owing to his jealousy of Colonel Somerset, shortly after the occurrence he had reported to the proper authorities certain idle tales of some Hottentots regarding it, when the matter was inquired into, and so flimsy were the stories found to be that it was a matter of general wonder how a man who had long acted as landdrost of Graaff-Reinet with the strictest justice and impartiality could have been deceived by them. As soon as possible complete rebutting testimony was forwarded to England, and was delivered to the committee of the commons by Colonel Wade on the 25th of March 1836, but it was then too late to be of use except for historical purposes. Captain Stockenstrom declared in his evidence—19th of August 1835—that he believed there were civilised nations in which

the highest order. With regard to South Africa he made greater blunders than any of his predecessors or successors in office, but his position was not affected by them. When, however, a few years later he committed errors with other and more highly valued colonies, his colleagues in the ministry, Lord John Russell and Lord Howick, urged upon the premier that his incompetency made his dismissal necessary, and threatened to resign if he remained in office. Under this pressure Lord Melbourne gave way, but to save appearances, on the 8th of February 1839 Lord Glenelg retired.

This was the minister with whom rested the decision whether Sir Benjamin D'Urban's plans should be carried out or not. He professed to study the question, but as he did not enter upon research with an unbiased mind, and as his sympathies were all on one side, he accepted only the evidence which accorded with his own views. Taking for granted that the Xosas would not have made war without sufficient reason, he complained that the governor had not furnished him with a "clear and comprehensive explanation of the causes which provoked the irruption of the Kaffirs into the colony." He found fault also with the language in which the governor described the Kaffirs, particularly with the expression "irreclaimable savages," which he observed he had read with pain that it would be difficult to describe.

The conclusions which he arrived at were contained in a long despatch, dated 26th of December 1835, of which the following extracts are the pith: "In the conduct which was pursued towards the Kaffir nation by the colonists and the public authorities of the colony through a long series of years, the Kaffirs had an ample justification of the war into which they rushed with such fatal imprudence at the close of the last year." . . . "Urged to revenge and desperation by the systematic injustice of which they had been the victims, I am compelled to embrace, however reluctantly, the conclusion that they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless, of extorting by force that

redress which they could not expect otherwise to obtain." . . . "The claim of sovereignty over the new province bounded by the Keiskama and the Kei must be renounced. It rests upon a conquest resulting from a war in which, as far as I am at present enabled to judge, the original justice is on the side of the conquered, not of the victorious party."

The same despatch announced that a lieutenant-governor would be immediately appointed for the eastern districts, and that to him would be confided the administration of affairs within the boundaries of his command. An outline of the policy to be adopted towards the Kaffirs by the lieutenant-governor was given. Treaties were to be made with the chiefs, who alone were to be looked to for restitution in cases of theft, as communal responsibility was not to be enforced. No Europeans except Christian teachers were to be allowed to settle east of the Fish river. Fairs for the interchange of commodities were to be established at convenient places on the frontier. And to prevent injury to the person or property of a Kaffir, the secretary of state intended to submit to the imperial parliament the draft of an act to enable courts of justice to take cognisance of offences committed by British subjects beyond the border of the colony.

The secretary indeed concluded by an intimation to the governor that final instructions concerning the policy to be pursued towards the Kaffirs would be withheld until his reply should be received, but as the tenor of the despatch was known to members of Dr. Philip's party in South Africa even before the document itself reached the country, and as it was published in England shortly after it was written, a continuation of the system of border management introduced by Sir Benjamin D'Urban became nearly impossible. It could not be successfully carried on when everyone knew it was about to be reversed. Practically, from the day the chiefs became acquainted with the fact that the king's adviser in colonial matters was taking part with them, order could not be maintained. The governor's

opponents now pointed to the condition of the frontier, especially to the renewal of cattle thefts, which they attributed as unjustly as ungenerously to the inherent weakness of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's settlement.

Lord Glenelg's despatch spread consternation widely over South Africa. Outside of Dr. Philip's little party in Capetown there was but one opinion: that it destroyed all hope of the enforcement of order, and placed life and whatever property was left in the eastern districts at the mercy of the Kaffirs. A little later tidings were brought that Captain Andries Stockenstrom had been appointed lieutenant-governor, and might shortly be expected. The Dutch colonists along the frontier who still possessed the means of moving then made up their minds to abandon the colony and to seek a new home somewhere in the vast wilderness unpeopled by the wars of Tshaka.

On the 4th of July 1836 Captain Stockenstrom reached Table Bay in the ship *Lord William Bentinck*. On the passage from England small-pox had broken out, and though there were then no cases of sickness on board, it was necessary for the passengers to be placed in quarantine. From this they were released after a detention of three weeks, and on the 25th of July Captain Stockenstrom took the oaths of office as lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts, which under his commission comprised Uitenhage, Albany, Graaff-Reinet, and Somerset. He had been directed to make Grahamstown his headquarters, and he was to receive a salary of £1,000 a year with a free residence.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban received the lieutenant-governor with every mark of honour, though he felt very keenly the position to which he was reduced. In a confidential communication to the earl of Aberdeen, he had recommended that the seat of government should be removed from Capetown to Uitenhage, in order to bring it near the Kaffir border, and had expressed an opinion that the appointment of a lieutenant-governor would not only be attended with considerable expense, but might cause collision with the

chief authority, or that the co-operation between them might not always be efficient, in either of which cases the public interests would suffer. Not satisfied with rejecting this advice, Lord Glenelg published the governor's despatch to his predecessor, with the express object of showing that it had been considered and overruled.

To this time Sir Benjamin D'Urban had faintly hoped that upon further reflection the secretary of state might change his views. He had forwarded to England a great number of documents showing how his system was working, but had found it impossible to get all the papers copied which had reference to intercourse between colonists and Kaffirs before the war. Lieutenant Donald Moodie, who held an office as protector of slaves to the 30th of November 1834, and who was fond of research, was instructed to collect and arrange the records of the country districts regarding the treatment of tribes beyond the boundaries of the colony by the government, the local officials, and the colonists, as well as the treatment of the latter by those tribes. As soon as he entered upon the task it was found that the quantity of papers was enormous, and that the extracts made by Dr. Philip from some of them conveyed altogether erroneous impressions. The governor, therefore, instructed him to proceed as rapidly as he could, allowed him to continue drawing a salary of £400 as protector of slaves, and directed a clerk to assist him. This was the state of the matter when Captain Stockenstrom arrived. Sir Benjamin D'Urban had written a despatch intended to cover the documents called for by the secretary of state, and was waiting for copies of the papers required.

Captain Stockenstrom informed the governor that to the date of his leaving England the opinions of Lord Glenelg were the same as when the despatch of December 1835 was written. Still as the final instructions for the abandonment had not been received, it was arranged that matters should continue as they were for a time. One change, however, was regarded as necessary by the governor. Captain Stockenstrom's

title was a military one, though he had only served a short time as an ensign in the Cape corps. It was permissible for officers to be promoted when engaged in civil duties and in receipt of half pay, and in this manner he became a titular captain. Among the Kaffirs justice was administered by Colonel Smith under martial law, but as he was to be superseded by Captain Stockenstrom, who would not be regarded as their military superior by officers in the army, on the 18th of August—the day after the lieutenant-governor left Capetown on his way to the eastern districts—Sir Benjamin D'Urban issued a proclamation abolishing martial law in the province of Queen Adelaide.

This proceeding irritated Captain Stockenstrom exceedingly. He professed to regard it as the subversion of the existing system by Sir Benjamin D'Urban himself, because, as he said, the colonial laws were not adapted to the requirements of the Kaffirs, and he would be amenable to the supreme court if he inflicted punishment under any other. But the same difficulty has been overcome in more recent times, and could have been then, if there had been the will to do it.

The proceedings of a legislative council constituted as that of the Cape Colony in 1836 cannot always be regarded as indicating the real views of the members, but when opinions are expressed in direct opposition to those of the secretary of state it is pretty certain that they are genuine. On the 24th of August the members present, official and unofficial,—Pieter Gerhard Brink, John Bell, Jan Godlieb Brink, Anthony Oliphant, Henry Cloete, John Bardwell Ebden, Charles Stuart Pillans, and Hamilton Ross,—unanimously passed a series of resolutions, and signed them for entry in the minutes of proceedings.

These resolutions were that they deemed it due to the governor to record their unqualified approval of all those measures which were adopted and carried into effect in repelling the late Kaffir invasion; that the arrangements entered into between the governor and the Kaffir chiefs on the 6th and 17th of September 1835 appeared to be best

calculated to ensure the tranquillity of the eastern frontier of the colony, to raise the Kaffir tribes in the scale of civilisation, and to fit them for the blessings and advantages of Christianity; that the measures subsequently adopted by his Excellency in carrying the humane principles of those arrangements into effect had eminently conduced to the unprecedented tranquillity which then existed throughout the eastern districts of the colony; and that those measures had only to be followed up consistently to ensure both to the eastern colonists and the Kaffir tribes a degree of prosperity and happiness which otherwise would be unattainable by either.

On the 3rd of September the lieutenant-governor reached Grahamstown. An address was ready to be presented to him, signed by four hundred and twelve British settlers, expressing their loyalty to the crown, their attachment to law and order, and their confidence that the establishment of an officer on the frontier with extensive executive power would be of great advantage to the colony; but calling in question the evidence he had given before the committee of the house of commons. This address he refused to receive. On the 6th a mass meeting was held in the commercial hall, at which men from all parts of the district were present, when four resolutions were passed unanimously, challenging proof of his assertions before the commons committee that atrocities had been perpetrated upon the Kaffirs by the colonists. So inauspiciously commenced Captain Stockenstrom's term of office as lieutenant-governor.

The colonists were in no humour to let the statements against them remain uncontradicted. Numerous largely-signed petitions were sent to England, praying that an impartial commission of inquiry might be sent out to investigate the charges made by Dr. Philip and Captain Stockenstrom, but Lord Glenelg refused to grant the request. Indeed, so closely did the secretary of state ally himself with the accusers of the white people that at this very time he introduced into the imperial parliament the act commonly

known as the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill, the preamble of which reads that "the inhabitants of the territories adjacent to the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, to the southward of the twenty-fifth degree of south latitude, being in an uncivilised state, offences against the persons and property of such inhabitants and others are frequently committed by his Majesty's subjects within such territories with impunity."

A people thus dealt with, in whose veins flowed the free and proud blood of England and of Holland, could not submit patiently. The Dutch farmers were abandoning the land of their birth, and in great caravans were moving away in search of a new home. The English settlers were still attempting to prove to their countrymen in Britain that when they crossed the sea they had not left their honour and humanity behind. They solicited the governor to publish the official records arranged by Lieutenant Moodie, and offered a guarantee that the expense would be made good in case the secretary of state should decline to sanction it. This could not be done, but Lieutenant Moodie was directed to continue his researches, and a couple of years later a good many of the documents were published by subscription. In their unmutilated state they expose in a very forcible manner the calumnies against the colonists.

On the 13th of September 1836 the lieutenant-governor attended a meeting of the Kaffir chiefs and their principal men at King-Williamstown. The chiefs had been called together to be officially introduced to him and to hear Colonel Smith's farewell remarks. There was a large gathering of people, and all expressed regret at parting with the able officer who had governed them kindly and justly for nearly a year. The expression, however, was a mere matter of form, for Makoma complained that the power of the chiefs was being taken away, and it was evident that the sympathy of every black man present was with him. On being desired to make their wishes known, Makoma asked for the country he had once occupied west of the Tyumie

and Tyali requested that punishment for dealing in witchcraft should be restored. At the time nothing else seemed to occur to them, but a day or two later the chiefs urged that the military posts in the province should be withdrawn.

The lieutenant-governor then resolved to abandon the forts Warden, Wellington, Beresford, and Murray at once, and Waterloo after a short delay. Orders to this effect were issued by him, and were promptly carried out. Some of the Hottentot levies that had assisted to garrison these posts were disbanded, the others with the European soldiers and the Cape mounted rifles were sent to strengthen the forts along the Fish and Kat rivers, which in October were made the principal line of defence. Whether the province was retained or abandoned, the lieutenant-governor stated it as his opinion that in case of a disturbance of the peace such a line would be better than scattered posts among the Kaffirs.

Captain Stockenstrom next proceeded to Shiloh, and ascertained the wishes of the emigrant Tembu chief Mapasa. His wants were few and simple: to be left to govern his people as he chose and to be protected by the Europeans against his enemies.

On the 1st of December there was another large meeting of the chiefs and their principal followers at King-Williamstown. It had been convened by the lieutenant-governor for the purpose of arranging for the withdrawal of the British flag from the province. The greatest apparent difficulty in the way was the position of the so-called British allies, by which term was meant the individuals who professed either to have been neutral or to have taken part with the Europeans in the recent war. Every one knew that it was not from attachment to white people that they had so acted, but from clannish feuds and jealousies; and it was certain that the followers of some of them had taken part in plundering the colony. Still they professed to be attached to the English government, and it was necessary therefore to do something to prevent them from being despoiled as soon

as the troops retired. They were Sutu with her son Sandile, Nonibe with her son Siwani, and Umkayi, Pato, Kama, Kobe, Tshatshu, Matwa, and Tente, with their retainers.

The lieutenant-governor advised them to become reconciled with their rivals and opponents, and by informing Makoma and Tyali that he could not withdraw the troops until there was general concord, he brought those chiefs to profess friendship towards all. During three successive days they discussed their differences, and then they appeared before Captain Stockenstrom and informed him that they were on the best of terms with each other. This declaration enabled him to act. On the 5th he issued a proclamation, renouncing British dominion over the territory, releasing the people from their allegiance, and repealing Sir Benjamin D'Urban's proclamations of the 10th of May, 16th of June, and 14th of October 1835. A little later, by direction of the secretary of state the land ceded by Kreli beyond the Kei was restored to that chief, and he was released from the obligations contracted by his father and himself.

On the 5th of December 1836 treaties were concluded between the lieutenant-governor on behalf of the king on the one part, and on the other (1) Makoma, Tyali, Botumane, Eno, and Sutu for herself and her son Sandile, (2) Umhala, Umkayi, Gasela, Siyolo, and Nonibe for herself and her son Siwani, and (3) Pato, Kama, and Kobe. The boundary between the colony and the Kaffir territory was therein declared to be that agreed upon by Lord Charles Somerset and Gaika in 1819, that is the Keiskama from the sea up to its junction with the Tyumie, thence the Tyumie up to where it touches a ridge of high land connected with the Katberg, and thence this ridge and the Katberg to the Winterberg, so as to include within the colony all the branches of the Kat river, and to include within Kaffirland all the branches of the Tyumie. The ground in dispute during the administration of Lieutenant-Colonel Wade was thus transferred to the Kaffirs. It was partly occupied by

Fingos, and in the treaty with the Gaika chiefs it was stipulated that these Fingos were not to be molested till their crops were reaped and until that time a garrison should be kept in Fort Thomson for their protection. They were then to be removed. With this exception, no rights whatever were reserved in the territory beyond the boundary as now defined, and the chiefs and people there were made absolutely independent of Great Britain.

Between the Fish and Kat rivers on one side and the Keiskama and Tyumie on the other the land from the Fingo location around Fort Peddie as far up as Fort Beaufort was still unoccupied. It had been Sir Benjamin D'Urban's intention to place a European population upon it, and Captain Stockenstrom was of opinion that it should be filled as densely as possible with Hottentots. But Lord Glenelg decided differently. He issued orders that this land was to be given to the Kaffirs, and accordingly in the treaties it was surrendered to them. It was indeed still to be called British territory, but it was stipulated that the Kaffirs could not be deprived of it unless they violated the treaties or made war upon the colony, that they were to have the free and full exercise of their own laws administered by their own chiefs, that they could exclude white people from it, and that the dominion of the king over it should in no way be exercised, with the exception that the right was reserved of stationing troops and building forts with lines of communication within it. No patrolling, however, was to be allowed, and the troops were not to deviate from the lines of communication, or in any way to molest, disturb, or interfere with the inhabitants. The Xosas undertook not to molest the Fingos around Fort Peddie, but to consider them under British protection.

The treaties placed the Kaffir chiefs on a perfect political equality with the king's government. Taking the dividing line between the two races as the Fish river from the sea up to the junction of the Kat, thence the Kat river up to a ridge just below Fort Beaufort, and thence a row of beacons

to the watershed between the Kat and Tyumie rivers, so as to keep the Hottentot settlement within the colony, the treaties provided that the chiefs should station men of position along its eastern side, just as the English government should establish military posts along its western. Colonists were to have no more right to cross the boundary eastward without the consent of the Kaffir chiefs than Kaffirs to cross it westward without the consent of the colonial government. White people when in Kaffirland were to be as fully subject to Kaffir law as Kaffirs when in the colony were to be subject to colonial law. The European agents were to be no longer magistrates, but ministers or consuls. Through them satisfaction for wrongs on either side was to be obtained. They were to collect proofs of losses caused by Kaffir thieves, and were to demand compensation from the chiefs, as well as to watch over the interests of British subjects who might be permitted by the Kaffirs to enter their country, and to secure redress for Kaffirs injured by colonists.

Five days later the lieutenant-governor entered into a treaty with Umhlambiso and Jokweni, the two most important Fingo captains, similar to those entered into with Makoma and the others; and they became independent chiefs. Fort Peddie, however, was maintained, and a garrison was kept there for the protection of the Fingos. Fort Montgomery Williams was abandoned, as was also Fort Willshire in March 1837. The weaker Fingo captains, as well as Tshatshu, Matwa, and Tente, were regarded as of too little importance to enter into treaties, and it was understood that they would follow the fate of their stronger countrymen.

The interpreter who acted for the lieutenant-governor when concluding these treaties was Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, and the former agent-general, Mr. Hougham Hudson, was present and signed as a witness. This gentleman had ceased to be resident magistrate of Albany, and had become secretary to the lieutenant-governor.

On the 18th of January 1837 a treaty of the same import as those with the Rarabes and Fingos was entered into at Shiloh by the lieutenant-governor and the emigrant Tembu chief Mapasa, wherein the Zwart Kei and Klaas Smit's rivers again became the colonial boundary.

Looking back upon these arrangements, they are seen to be worthless. They attempted to create an equality between civilisation and barbarism, between a British magistrate and a Kaffir captain. As well might such agreements be made between grown men and little children.

Captain Stockenstrom was instructed to submit the treaties to the governor and council for provisional ratification, and then to send them to England for final approval. These instructions he carried out, though he put the treaties in force at once, and with the least possible delay withdrew the troops from what had been the province of Queen Adelaide. As a matter of form on the 2nd of February 1837 Sir Benjamin D'Urban issued a proclamation from Capetown repealing and annulling his proclamations of the 10th of May, 16th of June, and 14th of October 1835; and on the 1st of June he signed the treaties as provisionally ratified in council. By the secretary of state the proceedings of the lieutenant-governor were fully approved, as they were in accordance with his own directions.

As soon as the treaties were concluded, Messrs. Charles Lennox Stretch and John Mitford Bowker were directed to act as consular agents with the Gaikas and the Fingos, and Mr. Stretch was required to move from Fort Cox to Blockdrift on the Tyumie. On the 29th of December 1836 Mr. William Macdowell Fynn was appointed agent with Kreli, and Mr. Henry Francis Fynn agent with Mapasa.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN, GOVERNOR—(*continued*).

THE condition of the eastern districts from the day that Lord Glenelg's intentions became known was deplorable. The lieutenant-governor, though he ignored the true cause and attributed the anarchy that prevailed to ignorance on the part of the farmers and prejudice against himself, in one of his despatches described the state of things correctly. The farmers complain, he wrote, that "strong armed parties of blacks are wandering over the country, squatting themselves on any property they please, plundering with impunity, and defying all threats, because the aggrieved are afraid of prosecution in case they resort to violence in defence of their lives and property." Admitting the truth of this complaint, he was of opinion that the farmers should be allowed to expel the intruders by force, and to shoot marauders who would not retire or surrender.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban attributed the condition of things to the "new and reckless policy which had sufficed to dispel the salutary fear of our power with which we had impressed our enemies, to shake—if not altogether to alienate—the respect and confidence with which we had been regarded by our friends, to banish the flower of the frontier farmers, and to leave those who yet remained in a state of the most fearful insecurity."

As the only remedy that could be devised under the circumstances, an ordinance was enacted by the legislative council "for the more effectual prevention of crimes against life and property within the colony," and was published on the 21st of June 1837. It provided that persons committing

serious offences or suspected on reasonable grounds of having done so, and refusing to surrender or offering resistance, could be killed; that no person should go across the boundary to recover stolen property, except in accordance with the terms of the treaties, under penalty of a fine of £50 or imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months; that no Kaffir, Hottentot, or Bushman—unless a native of the colony—should be allowed to come within the border armed; that all justices of the peace, commandants, fieldcornets, and military officers should disarm such persons, unless they were in service with colonists, and in case of resistance could kill or disable them; that any such foreigners found wandering over the country without passes might be apprehended by any landholder and taken before a fieldcornet or magistrate, when if they declined to enter into service they could be removed beyond the boundary under penalty of twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour in case of their return; that if such foreigners refused to be arrested they could be killed or disabled; that three or more such armed foreigners entering the colony in a party should be regarded as enemies, and could be expelled by force of arms; and that all persons between the ages of sixteen and sixty could be called upon by any officer of the law to assist in carrying out these provisions, and should be obliged to obey under penalty, if neglecting to do so, of a fine not exceeding £20 or imprisonment not exceeding three months.

This ordinance had some effect in reducing the evil, though it left vagrants who were natives of the colony undisturbed unless they could be proved guilty of crime. But it was soon nullified by the lieutenant-governor, who gave permission to such numbers of Kaffirs to cross the border and reside within the colony that all distinctions were lost. Then he began to ignore the evil, and to write that the border districts were in a condition of unparalleled tranquillity. His organ in Capetown—the *Commercial Advertiser*—repeated this assertion, and week after week statements

appeared in it to the effect that such order had never been known before.*

During the year 1837, when these assertions were most pronounced, twenty-four murders were committed, and the cases of theft reported to the authorities amounted to three hundred and eighty-four horses and two thousand four hundred and three head of horned cattle. The number of unreported thefts cannot be ascertained, but it was certainly in excess of these figures. The farmers declared that it was useless to give in accounts of their losses, because under the treaties redress was not to be had. The lieutenant-governor also employed a body of Kaffirs under the name of police, and every sane man knew that detection of robbers was impossible while they were about. They had been engaged by Colonel Smith, and were of some service in the province of Queen Adelaide, where the question was between Kaffir and Kaffir; but in the colony, where the question was between white men and Kaffirs, no greater obstruction to the course of justice could have been devised.

The Fingos were nominally under British protection, and they were now made to experience what that implied under the Glenelg-Stockenstrom administration. Those of them living along the Gaga were attacked by Matwa, and driven away. The lieutenant-governor then gave them a location of ample size at Zitzikama, two hundred miles within the colony. There, however, they became greatly impoverished, so that ultimately most of those who did not take service with farmers joined their friends in the neighbourhood of Fort Peddie.

* The *Commercial Advertiser* was in all respects except its views on the native question a paper that would have reflected credit on any community, and therefore it carried greater weight in England than a less ably conducted sheet would have done. Its editor, Mr. John Fairbairn, was a son-in-law of the reverend Dr. Philip, who was believed to be the guide of its policy in frontier affairs. It, like Dr. Philip's work *Researches in South Africa*, was so offensive to the British settlers of 1820 that a copy was very rarely seen in Albany. The *Grahamstown Journal*, edited by Mr. Robert Godlonton, was the favourite newspaper of the settlers. It was practical, and its information on border questions could be thoroughly relied upon.

On the 2nd of August 1837 a large party of armed Kaffirs of the clans of Eno and Siyolo, under Siyolo in person, attacked the Fingo location around Fort Peddie, killed ten Fingos, wounded eleven others, and drove off five hundred head of cattle. The matter was aggravated by the fact that as soon as the entrance of the Kaffirs into the location was known, Mr. J. M. Bowker, his interpreter George Cyrus, and Corporal John Porter, with a small military escort, hastened to the spot. In defiance of Mr. Bowker's remonstrances, the attack was continued. Corporal Porter was killed. The Fingo captain Umhlambiso was badly wounded at the agent's side, and would have lost his life if George Cyrus had not helped him upon a horse, which enabled him to escape. The whole of the Fingos were obliged to take shelter under the walls of the fort.

The lieutenant-governor investigated the matter, and at first tried to blame the Fingos for having provoked the attack. But the Wesleyan missionaries challenged the slightest proof of the Fingos having been at fault, and Captain Stockenstrom found it impossible to maintain his charges against them. He then acquitted Eno, chiefly on the evidence of that captain's son Stokwe, "a prince of savages," as he said, "who had been for three days on the most intimate terms in his house;" and demanded from the Kaffir chiefs redress for Siyolo's conduct. After some delay seventy-four head of the most wretched cattle in the country were sent to Fort Peddie, with which compensation he declared himself satisfied. Throughout Kaffirland there was nothing but merriment over this result of the fray, and even from the distant station of Buntingville in Pondoland the missionary wrote that the lieutenant-governor's conduct was the subject of ridicule.

The emigrant Tembus were not behind the Rarabes in setting so weak an administration at defiance. They plundered the district of Somerset almost with impunity, and on the 29th of July 1837 a large armed body of them pursued some Hottentots far into the colony. On this

occasion, however, Colonel England by judicious management induced them to return across the Zwart Kei without doing further injury.

A regiment of infantry had been withdrawn from the frontier, but the Cape mounted rifles were raised to four hundred and sixty-two rank and file, and three hundred Hottentot footmen were attached to the corps. Military patrols were constantly marching up and down, but were unable to suppress or even to check the incessant depredations of the Kaffirs.

Much additional alarm was created by an abortive attempt of the lieutenant-governor to locate parties of Hottentots of the vagrant class along the Fish river. He announced that the settlements were intended for protective as well as philanthropic purposes, and to the secretary of state he wrote that when they were formed the troops on the frontier could be greatly reduced. His plan was to supply the Hottentots with rations for the men and women, arms for the men, and tracts of ground where they might congregate. To each family thirty goats were given at the expense of benevolent people in England, to enable them to commence stock-breeding.

On no other subject did Captain Stockenstrom's despatches contain so many cutting remarks concerning Sir Benjamin D'Urban, though his correspondence at this time was very largely composed of taunts of the governor, bitter invective against his opponents, assertions that the frontier was enjoying perfect peace as far as the Kaffirs were concerned, charges against the emigrant farmers of making slaves of coloured children by acts of violence, and unbounded confidence in the justice and wisdom of Lord Glenelg's policy. In the matter of the Hottentot settlements, his charge against Sir Benjamin D'Urban was that ground which might have been applied to that purpose had been granted by the governor to Captain Armstrong, Captain Campbell, Lieutenant Moultrie, and others, who had converted it into farms.

In the opinion of the colonists the great danger of these settlements was that war with the Kaffirs might break out before the Hottentots should disperse, in which case the probabilities were that they would join the enemy. The condition of the Kat river people at the close of the year 1834 could not be forgotten. No one acquainted with the habits of the Hottentots supposed that they would remain many months on the ground assigned to them, and in point of fact even the inducement of rations for the adults could not keep them together. The danger for a short time was considerable, but it soon passed away.

So greatly disliked was the lieutenant-governor by nearly the whole of the colonists that if the system he was trying to carry out had really been a good one he could not have succeeded in making it popular. He was in altogether a false position. Normally an intelligent and honest man, he had made a tremendous mistake, and being too stubborn to own it, he was trying to cover it with extravagant words and acts. Just so a man who has under great temptation committed a crime, but who has always previously enjoyed the public esteem and who will not admit his guilt, when brought to trial before a magistrate often surpasses the most hardened criminal in frantic and desperate efforts to clear himself.

Never before by an officer of his rank in South Africa was such abusive language made use of as that which Captain Stockenstrom applied to those who opposed him. Among them were the foremost men of the country, the members of the legislative council, the editors of every newspaper but one, the clergymen—almost without exception—of all denominations, the great majority of the missionaries, the farmers, and nearly every resident in the eastern towns; but the mildest language in which he described them to the secretary of state was "a desperate, disappointed, unprincipled faction, ready to sacrifice the tranquillity and happiness of the colony to their thirst for revenge and lucre." He seemed to disdain even the appearance of conciliation.

A series of prosecutions for libel, in which he was the most prominent figure, forms a remarkable episode in the history of these times.

When an account of his evidence before the committee of the commons reached the colony, the fieldcornet Erasmus—guilty according to that evidence of murder, robbery, and mendacity—was an official of the district of Somerset. Captain Campbell, the civil commissioner of the district, naturally considered it his duty to make the strictest inquiry into the charge. When doing so, Erasmus brought forward a witness named Hendrik Klopper, who made a deposition that when the commando under Captain Fraser entered Kaffirland in December 1813 Captain Stockenstrom himself had shot a Kaffir boy. Klopper named as persons who were present on that occasion two men living at Graaff-Reinet and one living at Cradock.

The result of the inquiry was the complete exculpation of Erasmus and his companions. Captain Campbell then wrote to Mr. O'Reilly, justice of the peace at Cradock, to take the deposition of the man named by Klopper there, and he also sent a request to Mr. Van Ryneveld, resident magistrate of Graaff-Reinet, to act in the same manner. A copy of Klopper's deposition he forwarded to Mr. John Centlivres Chase, a customhouse officer in Capetown, to be sent with other papers to be laid before the committee of the commons, as it was known that Mr. Chase was engaged in collecting information that could be used on behalf of the colonists. When Klopper's statement was thus sent away by Captain Campbell, no intimation had been received in South Africa of Captain Stockenstrom's appointment as lieutenant-governor, and he was believed to be in business in Sweden. If the charge even amounted to murder, he was not amenable to a colonial court, for the occurrence took place beyond the boundary.

The deposition made before Mr. O'Reilly at Cradock seemed to substantiate that of Klopper. At Graaff-Reinet Mr. Van Ryneveld associated with himself two justices of the

peace, one of whom was Lieutenant Donald Moodie, and before these officials further corroborative testimony was given. By this time, however, tidings of Captain Stockenstrom's appointment had reached the colony, so beyond forwarding the latest depositions to the government nothing more was done.

While the lieutenant-governor was on the road from Capetown to the frontier Captain Campbell sent him a copy of Klopper's affidavit, that he might know all about the matter and take any action he chose. He, however, ignored it completely. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that a tale was soon in everybody's mouth of the lieutenant-governor having once in cool blood shot an unarmed Kaffir boy out of pure revenge for the death of his father, and that he was afraid to proceed against the men who charged him with the horrible crime.

On the 6th of July 1836 an article in very violent language appeared in the *Commercial Advertiser*. Mr. Fairbairn, the editor, whose writings on everything outside of the politics of Dr. Philip's party must always command admiration and respect, seemed to lose his temper and his regard for accuracy whenever this subject was before him. Lieutenant Moodie had incurred the enmity of the party by collecting the documents which proved Dr. Philip's extracts to be garbled, and his having sat as a justice of the peace to receive depositions against Captain Stockenstrom added to this feeling. In the article in the *Commercial Advertiser* he was alluded to as "an unprincipled placehunter," and was accused of "attempting the life and honour of the lieutenant-governor in his absence by collecting evidence while drawing the emoluments of an office (protector of slaves) long after that office had expired." Mr. Chase was referred to in terms somewhat less opprobrious.

Mr. Chase thereupon brought an action for libel against Mr. Fairbairn, and on the 24th of February 1837 obtained judgment for damages forty shillings and costs. Lieutenant Moodie followed the same course. His case came before the

supreme court on the 26th of May 1837, when the various depositions against Captain Stockenstrom were produced, and the whole of the particulars concerning them were made public. On the 30th the court gave judgment in favour of Moodie for fifty pounds damages and costs.

This forced the lieutenant-governor to take action of some kind, or to admit that he who had charged others with the gravest crimes, of which they had afterwards been proved innocent, was himself guilty of a worse offence than he had imputed to them. He accordingly brought an action against Captain Campbell for "maliciously and unlawfully causing and procuring him to be falsely charged with having deliberately fired at and killed a Kaffir child, and for maliciously and unlawfully publishing a libel of and concerning him." The publication was stated to be the forwarding of Klopper's deposition to Mr. Chase.

From the 11th of November 1837, when the case first came before the court, to the 1st of March 1838, when judgment was given, it was the topic of greatest interest in South Africa. Excepting the celebrated trials during the circuit of 1812 and the libel case Mackay *versus* Philip, no prosecution in the Cape Colony was ever regarded as involving consequences of greater moment to the public.

Captain Campbell took the straightforward course of pleading justification, so that the question to be decided was whether Captain Stockenstrom did, or did not, fire at and kill a Kaffir boy while engaged in the commando under Captain Fraser. A great deal of evidence both documentary and oral was taken, and the examination and cross-examination of the witnesses were as perfect as the cleverest advocates in South Africa could make them. The case for the plaintiff broke down so completely that the court considered it unnecessary for the defendant's advocate to conclude with an address. The three judges, forming the full bench, agreed in the decision, which was pronounced by the chief justice. Judgment was in favour of Captain Campbell with costs, on the ground that "justification had been fully and satisfactorily

made out." The costs against the lieutenant-governor were between two and three thousand pounds.

Surely no other British colony has ever witnessed anything like what happened on this occasion. On the night after the tidings reached Grahamstown the streets were illuminated, in defiance of attempts by the authorities to suppress such manifestations of pleasure. The houses of Port Elizabeth were lit up two nights in succession. From Graaff-Reinet to Uitenhage, and thence eastward to the border, blazing bonfires all over the country proclaimed the public joy. And the man whose defeat caused these universal rejoicings was the lieutenant-governor of the province, the most obedient and devoted servant of the secretary of state.

One more incident in connection with this trial remains to be noticed. At the office of the *Commercial Advertiser* a pamphlet was printed, which professed to be a full report, but two letters produced in evidence and of great consequence to Captain Campbell were omitted. The supreme court thereupon issued an interdict against the publication of the pamphlet, but in the meantime it had been widely circulated, and numerous copies had been sent to England.

It is pleasant to turn from these scenes of discord, and observe the introduction of measures of utility.

To facilitate reference to courts of justice, one of the earliest acts of the lieutenant-governor was to increase the number of magistrates. His power for such purposes had to be exerted in an indirect way. All laws were made by the legislative council, in which he had no seat; but every ordinance affecting the eastern districts had to be sent to him for comment before being passed, and he could submit draft ordinances for consideration. In the matter of appointments to office, he recommended individuals to the governor, who was instructed by the secretary of state to act upon his advice unless there were very cogent reasons for not doing so.

Upon Captain Stockenstrom's proposal, on the 6th of February 1837 an ordinance was issued creating three districts, named Port Elizabeth, Colesberg, and Cradock.

Port Elizabeth was growing rapidly. Its merchants were among the most enterprising in the colony, and substantial warehouses lined the main streets of the lower part of the town, while neat residences stood on the high ground above. Every year saw an increase in the volume of trade passing through it, and by an order in council dated 13th of April 1836 it had become a free warehousing port. It had altogether outgrown that stage when its requirements could be met by a special justice of the peace. The district, as now created, comprised only a small tract of land about the town, extending from a point on the coast about fifteen miles west of Cape Recife to the source of the Little Zwartkops river, thence this stream to its junction with the Zwartkops, and thence the Zwartkops to the sea. For fiscal purposes it remained connected with the division of Uitenhage. Mr. John George de Villiers was appointed resident magistrate.

The district of Colesberg comprised the recently occupied tract of land along the southern bank of the Orange river, the north-eastern part of the colony. It was formed out of the wards or fieldcornetcies of Achter Zuurberg, New Hantam, Lower Seacow River, Middenveld, Winterveld with exception of three farms, Upper Seacow River with exception of three farms, and Rhenosterberg with exception of four farms, which had previously formed part of Graaff-Reinet, and the ward Groote River which had previously been included in Somerset. Mr. Fleetwood Rawstorne, recently agent with the Ndlambe clans, was appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate, and was directed to establish his office in the village of Colesberg.

The district of Cradock was formed out of the wards Brak River, Tarka, Klaas Smit's River, and Achter Sneeuwberg, previously included in Somerset, and the country below the Sneeuwberg drained by streams flowing into the

Great Fish river. Mr. William Gilfillan, who had served with much distinction as an officer of the Hottentot levies, was appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate, and was directed to establish his office in the village of Cradock.

The formation of the districts of Colesberg and Cradock tended greatly to promote order in the wildest parts of the colony. Many of the Europeans residing there were nomadic in their habits, and contributed nothing directly towards the revenue, as they had not been at the trouble and expense of obtaining quitrent farms, but moved with their flocks and herds from one locality to another where better grass was to be found. There were many Hottentots and Bantu also, who had previously been free from the restraints of law. All of these were now subjected to proper control, and the additional revenue collected was in a short time sufficient to cover the expense of the new establishments.

On the 9th of October 1837 the lieutenant-governor proclaimed a new boundary between Albany and Somerset. Running parallel to the Koonap for some distance from the Winterberg is one of its tributaries named the Mankazana, which must not be confused with the branch of the Kat river so often mentioned in preceding chapters. From the junction of the streams the watershed between them was declared to be the boundary, the eastern side to be in Albany, the western in Somerset. Three months previously —14th of July 1837—the arrangement by which Somerset and Albany were united under the same civil commissioner was annulled, and each was now independent of the other in fiscal as well as judicial matters.

In the western part of the colony the only changes made in the boundaries of districts for a long time past were that in January 1829 the ward Voor Piketberg was taken from Worcester and added to the Cape, and the ward Palmiet and Bot rivers was taken from Swellendam and added to Stellenbosch, so as to extend the last-named district to Langhoogte.

As the territory placed under the administration of the lieutenant-governor included Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage, but not Beaufort and George, it was necessary to raise these latter again from the rank of sub-districts, which was done by an ordinance issued on the 10th of August 1836, when their resident magistrates were appointed civil commissioners also.

On the 1st of January 1837 by a resolution of the legislative council the sub-district of Clanwilliam was separated from Worcester and placed upon the same level as the other divisions. Mr. Jan van Ryneveld, whose office was in the village of Clanwilliam, was then appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the new district.

On the 4th of July 1834 Mr. J. Spring Rice, who was then secretary of state for the colonies, gave directions for the promulgation of an ordinance to permit the establishment of elective municipal councils in the towns and villages. Owing to his absence from Capetown, Sir Benjamin D'Urban was for some time unable to carry out these instructions, but in September 1836 the ordinance was passed by the legislative council, and was at once put into operation.

It provided that upon a requisition signed by twenty-five persons living within a mile of any central point, occupying houses worth a yearly rental of not less than £10, and paying yearly taxes exceeding six shillings, the resident magistrate or justice of the peace should call a public meeting of householders, who should determine by a majority of votes whether the place should be created a municipality. If the decision was in the affirmative, another meeting was to be called for the purpose of appointing a committee to draft regulations. The regulations, in which the number of commissioners and wardmasters was to be fixed, were then to be referred, each one separately, to a third public meeting for adoption, alteration, or rejection, and when these preliminaries were completed, they were to be submitted for approval, amendment, or disallowance by the governor acting with the advice of the executive council. Upon a

proclamation by the governor notifying his approval, and the publication of the regulations in the *Gazette*, the municipality was established.

As many commissioners as had been decided upon were then elected by the householders, to hold office for three years, unless disqualified within that period. The repair and lighting of the streets, the supply of water, drainage, police protection, the care of the commonage, supervision of slaughterhouses, and numerous other matters were confided to them. Funds were raised by yearly rates levied by the householders in public assembly.

That this measure was a great step forward is unquestionable. Apart from their utility for purely local purposes, the municipal boards served as schools to train men to take part in representative government, though as the towns were small there was not much scope for the acquirement of facility in debate or of an extensive acquaintance with the management of public affairs. Their chief value in this respect consisted in bringing home to the minds of men possessed perhaps of ability, but with no very high sense of honour, that to avoid the contempt of their fellows they must pursue a course of rectitude. This followed from such men being exposed to public observation, and from their conduct being freely commented upon by the newspapers.

Municipal institutions have as a rule worked well in South Africa. There have of course been blunders, where public money has been misspent, and sections of ratepayers have often been found complaining, but of positive corruption, of party purposes being served, of councillors making use of their position for their own personal benefit, of such contemptible practices the country for a long series of years was singularly free.

Beaufort West has the honour of being the first town in the colony to take advantage of the municipal act. In January 1837 its regulations were approved by the governor, and as soon as they were published in the *Gazette* a council was elected and began to act. In February Somerset East

followed, and then in quick succession George, Grahamstown, and Cradock.

Capetown was excepted in this enactment, and until 1840 its affairs were controlled by the general government. On the 3rd of March in that year, however, it was created a municipality by a special ordinance, and in the following September the old burgher watch-house in Greenmarket-square, which since 1828 had been used as the magistrate's court and offices, was transferred to the elected commissioners, who then entered upon their duties. The first secretary of the municipality of Capetown was Advocate Pieter Jan Denyssen, who in after years became a judge of the supreme court.

The ordinances of 1836 and 1840 have since been amended on several occasions, but in many particulars they still remain in force.

Prior to 1837 persons convicted of serious crimes were often sentenced by the supreme court to transportation, and were then sent to New South Wales in the first convict ship that called. On the 26th of June of this year Lord Glenelg directed that no more convicts were to be sent from the Cape to Australia, and thereafter it became necessary to keep them in prison and employ them in some manner. This led a few years later to a scheme of roadmaking through mountain passes, which was of great benefit to the colony.

On the 1st of August 1837 the Cape of Good Hope bank was opened for business in Capetown. The promoters were desirous of establishing it under an ordinance, and one was passed for the purpose by the legislative council, but the secretary of state declined to advise its ratification by the king, on the ground that in the condition of the colonial revenue it would not be wise to assist an institution that would probably draw away custom from the government bank. It was then formed under a trust-deed, with a capital of £75,000 in fifteen hundred shares of £50 each, two-thirds of the capital paid up, and the shareholders

remaining responsible not only for the balance, but to an unlimited extent for the liabilities of the institution. On the date of opening thirteen hundred shares had been taken, and the capital in hand was £43,333 6*s.* 8*d.* The remaining shares were sold shortly afterwards at a high premium. The first chairman was Mr. John Bardwell Ebden, and the first board of directors consisted of Messrs. Hamilton Ross, Thomas Sutherland, Thomas Tennant, Roelof Abraham Zeederberg, Harrison Watson, Charles Stuart Pillans, William Dickson, and Antonio Chiappini.*

For many years Capetown had been free from seismic disturbances when just before daybreak on the 11th of November 1835 the residents were awakened by a smart shock of earthquake. There was a loud noise as of a heavily laden waggon moving quickly over stony ground, which was heard in all parts of the town and caused much alarm, though no damage to buildings was done.

Men holding such opposite opinions in an essential matter as Lord Glenelg and Sir Benjamin D'Urban could not long work together. One was a mere theorist, but in his hands was the power of control. The other, who had held the same opinions until experience and practical knowledge had forced him to renounce them, was the subordinate. Sir Benjamin D'Urban was too honest even to attempt to smooth down remarks that were offensive to the secretary of state. What he wrote he knew to be the truth, and he expressed it in the plainest and most forcible language. He was no courtier. He could not dissemble, nor mask his acts under words that would bear more than one meaning. He did not even ask himself the question whether his office was worth such a price: to do so would be wrong, and the noble, god-fearing governor did not want to know more. His notes, his

*This bank was reconstituted at a later date under the limited liability act, and with a largely increased capital established branches in many places in the colony. It continued in existence until the 23rd of September 1890, when it was closed owing to rash speculation by some of its branches. Its winding up was attended with much distress to a great many individuals.

comments upon documents, his whole course of living and acting prove this.

Lord Glenelg's charge against the colonists in his despatch of December 1835 has been given. There could not be a flatter contradiction of it than Sir Benjamin D'Urban's language in a despatch dated the 8th of June 1836, in which he begged the secretary of state to endeavour to obtain compensation from the revenue of the mother country for "faithful subjects who have been visited with calamities rarely paralleled, to them as overwhelming as those of hurricane or earthquake, as unexpected and unavoidable as they were undeserved by any act of the sufferers, and which neither prudence nor foresight on their part could have averted or controlled."

Or take the subject of the emigration which was then threatening to leave portions of the colony without civilised inhabitants. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in a despatch to the secretary of state dated 29th of July 1837, attributed it to the "insecurity of life and property occasioned by the recent measures, inadequate compensation for the loss of the slaves, and despair of obtaining recompense for the ruinous losses by the Kaffir invasion." He described the Dutch farmers who were leaving the colony as "a brave, patient, industrious, orderly, and religious people, the cultivators, the defenders, and the tax contributors of the country."

Lord Glenelg's opinions about the cause of the emigration were well known in South Africa, though the despatch in which he placed them permanently on record was not written until the 28th of November 1837. In that despatch he declared that "the motives of this emigration were the same as had in all ages impelled the strong to encroach on the weak, and the powerful and unprincipled to wrest by force or fraud from the comparatively feeble and defenceless, wealth, or property, or dominion." These reckless words, in the sense which they were intended to bear, might be mistaken for the utterance of an ignorant fanatic. Yet they were embodied in a document revised by a man holding the

high office of secretary of state for the colonies, but upon whom the responsibility of his position must have sat lightly indeed. He was one of the most prominent leaders of the so-called philanthropic societies. What wonder that the word philanthropist came to imply in South African minds a man so blinded by extreme views as to be unable to discern either truth or justice.

Lord Glenelg objected to the tone of the governor's despatches, especially to the language of one in which Sir Benjamin vindicated the colonists from the charge of provoking the Kaffirs to war, and pointed out that if blame for that event was to be attributed to any white people, it must be solely to English officials and English soldiers, for whose acts the burghers were in no way responsible. Some annexures to this despatch, especially certain letters written by Dr. Philip, gave great offence. They proved beyond the possibility of contradiction that in giving credence to Dr. Philip's assertions and throwing doubts upon the accuracy of the governor's reports, the secretary of state had made a blunder. His reply was dated the 1st of May 1837. It ended with the information that the king had thought proper to dispense with Sir Benjamin's services as governor of the Cape Colony, and that he was therefore to consider himself as holding office only until he should be relieved by a successor.

On the 8th of September of the same year the secretary wrote further that the governor might retire whenever it suited his convenience, after transferring the administration temporarily to the military officer next in rank. The same mail that brought this despatch brought also private intelligence that Major-General George Thomas Napier had been appointed governor, though his commission was not dated until the 4th of November. Sir Benjamin D'Urban therefore resolved to await his successor's arrival.

He was at the time suffering from domestic affliction. Advocate William Musgrave was his son-in-law, and the governor was much attached to his eldest grandson. On

the 18th of September 1837 the boy was returning from the races on Greenpoint common, when some one rode violently against his horse. By the concussion he was thrown to the ground, and received injuries from which he died in a few hours.

In military rank the governor was now higher than when he arrived in South Africa, as on the 15th of January 1837 he became a lieutenant-general. At the same time the lieutenant-colonels Wade, Smith, and Hare, all associated with our history, attained the full rank of colonel.

On the 20th of January 1838 Major-General Napier arrived in Table Bay in the Indiaman *Euphrates*, with two sons and two daughters. On the 22nd he took the oaths of office.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban remained in South Africa until it was admitted generally in England as well as in this country that he had acted wisely in his dealings with the Kaffirs. On the 20th of June 1840 the order of knight grand cross of the bath was conferred upon him, and shortly after Sir Robert Peel became premier he was offered a high military appointment in India, which he thought fit to decline.

On the 23rd of August 1843 Lady D'Urban died in Capetown. As a mark of the esteem in which she had been held, the colonists raised a sum of money to place a memorial tablet in St. George's cathedral and to erect a suitable building for a girls' school of industry at Wynberg, which she had founded in 1836.

On the 15th of April 1846, just after the commencement of another Kaffir war, Sir Benjamin D'Urban left the Cape. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in British North America, and in that capacity he died at Montreal on the 25th of May 1849, at the age of seventy-two years. An obelisk erected to his memory by the officers who served under him bears the inscription that he died as he had lived, in the faithful discharge of his duty.

This map shows the extent and divisions of the colony in 1838.

The places where there were courts of law were

Centres of Districts: Capetown, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, Graaff Reinet, Uitenhage, George, Grahamstown, Beaufort West, Worcester, Somerset East, Clanwilliam, Port Elizabeth, Cradock, Colesberg.

Police and Petty Civil Court: Simonstown.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 22ND JANUARY 1838, RETIRED 18TH MARCH 1844.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, an elder brother of the historian of the war in the peninsula, was a soldier of distinction, but had not previously occupied an important civil post. During the memorable retreat to Coruña he was aide-de-camp to Sir John Moore, on the 16th of January 1808 when that general was mortally wounded he was at his side, waited upon him to the last, and assisted to place his body in the grave. As a captain in the 52nd regiment he was severely wounded at Busaco, again at Casal Nova, and on the 19th of January 1812 lost his right arm when leading the storming party at Ciudad Rodrigo.

One of the bravest of the brave in the field of battle, the new governor was usually courteous and kindly in demeanour, though he was somewhat irascible, and when provoked was accustomed to make very cutting observations. He was less determined in character than Sir Benjamin D'Urban, but was honest and benevolent. Like his predecessor, he came to this country with a strong impression that the colonists were disposed to oppress the coloured people, and with a conviction that the principles which were being carried out by Lord Glenelg were just and politic. At this time he was in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He was accompanied to the Cape by his wife, two sons, two daughters, and an intimate friend, a student of natural history named Charles Bunbury. A few months later he was created a knight commander of the bath, of which order he was only a companion when he arrived.

The period during which he was at the head of affairs appeared to the colonists then living as one of the gloomiest ever known in South Africa, but looking back upon it now it is seen to have been in many respects a turning time towards brighter days.

The border policy of Lord Glenelg caused great losses to the white people, and, so far from being of any benefit to the blacks, withheld from them the advantage of judicious control and in course of time excited them to a destructive war. But it was necessary that this system with all its calamitous consequences should have a trial, to convince the authorities in England that the theories of those who claimed for themselves exclusively the title of philanthropists were formed in ignorance and tended to evil.

The farmers in the western districts, left almost without servants by the termination of the apprenticeships on the 1st of December 1838, necessarily underwent much hardship; but they speedily learned to accommodate themselves to the new order of things. Many more than formerly turned their attention to the breeding of merino sheep, and the production of wool rapidly increased.

The colony was losing large numbers of its European inhabitants, without a corresponding influx from abroad; but the waste regions beyond the border were being occupied by civilised men, who created a commerce and opened the interior of the country to Christianity and order.

No public works of consequence were undertaken until towards the close of this period, but the colonial debt was paid off, which made it possible to carry on important improvements thereafter, and a much less vexatious method of taxation was adopted.

The introduction of a more extended system of public schools and an increase in the number of churches also mark this period as not altogether one of gloom.

Too great a space in the history of these times may seem to be devoted to transactions with the Xosas and Tembus

on the eastern border, but it must be borne in mind that a system of dealing with barbarous tribes, founded on the principle that they were as trustworthy, honest, and peaceably disposed as civilised communities, was on its trial, and that its working ought to be fully explained.

When the new governor arrived in South Africa the condition of the eastern frontier was such that the colonists feared war would break out again immediately. The Gaikas were threatening the Gunukwebes with a raid unless they restored the cattle placed under their care during the war, the Rarabes in general were constantly assailing the Fingos, and the colonists were being plundered mercilessly. In April 1837 the 98th regiment had been sent home, and the force on the border was too weak to prevent outrages.

On the 19th of February 1838 a party of Cape mounted riflemen rose in mutiny at Fraser's camp, a post between Grahamstown and Trompetter's drift on the Fish river. Sixteen Hottentot soldiers fired at their officers, who were seated in the messroom, and an ensign named Crowe was killed. Every one feared that the whole corps was disaffected, and consternation was increased by its becoming known that the chief Umkayi was in league with the mutineers. Such prompt measures were taken by the military authorities, however, that the rebels were speedily captured and brought to trial before a court martial, when thirteen were condemned to death. This sentence was regarded by the governor as unduly severe, but the two ringleaders underwent the awarded punishment by the hands of their former comrades, and seven others were banished to Robben Island. By this example the authorities hoped to check feelings of disloyalty in the corps, though the colonists could not divest themselves of apprehensions of danger from an alliance between the Hottentot soldiers and the Kaffirs.

The governor felt it his duty to visit that part of the colony as speedily as possible, and on the 22nd of March he left Capetown for the frontier. At Port Elizabeth an address

was presented to him by the inhabitants, in which they attributed the deplorable state of affairs "to the ruinous and mistaken policy pursued towards the Kaffirs, by the sacrifice of measures based on the principles of justice and equity in favour of visionary and utopian theories." In his reply he stated that he "accepted the government of the colony in the conviction that the former system, as regarded the Kaffirs, was erroneous, and he had come out agreeing in and determined to support the system pursued by the lieutenant-governor in accordance with instructions received from the secretary of state, an opinion and determination to which he still adhered."

As he proceeded onward, however, his views became greatly modified. He found the Kaffirs plundering the colonists almost with impunity, for the white people were obliged to observe the conditions of the treaties, which the blacks paid not the slightest regard to. The military line of defence selected by Captain Stockenstrom he observed was the worst that could have been adopted, and would require a very much larger force to guard than the line of the Keiskama and Tyumie rivers. After careful inspection, on the 12th of July he wrote to Lord Glenelg, asking for three regiments of the line, the Cape mounted rifles—which he proposed to reduce to four hundred and eighty rank and file,—and half a company of artillery, to be stationed on the frontier "to prevent the ruinous stockstealing and provide against a sudden rush of the Kaffirs into the colony." The Xosas, he added, had no excuse for their daring depredations, as on the part of the colonists the treaties had never been infringed.

On the 19th of June 1838 the governor met the Gunukwebe chiefs Pato, Kama, and Kobe at Fort Peddie. They were in such fear of an attack by the Gaikas that they were ready to promise anything in return for substantial support. Captain Stockenstrom gave them a good character, and expressed a belief that they would faithfully carry out their engagements, upon which Major-General Napier

entered into a supplementary treaty, establishing a defensive alliance with them. They bound themselves before making war to submit their disputes with other clans to the arbitration of the British authorities, and they were not to be entitled to assistance in aggressive movements. But they were to be protected from attack, and in case of a sudden raid upon them they were to be permitted to take shelter on the colonial side of the Fish river. Thus in return for a promise of such aid as they could give in time of war, the governor took upon himself a great responsibility, without securing any control in their affairs.

With the Rarabe chiefs the governor had several interviews. They desired that the Hottentots should be expelled from the valleys at the sources of the Kat river, which Makoma claimed as his property. This request could not be complied with, but Makoma and Tyali repeated it again and again. The governor informed them that he must insist upon their carrying out the conditions of the treaties, as the robberies committed by their people, unless checked, would inevitably lead to war. He therefore warned them that if they did not restore stolen cattle traced to their kraals, or give up others equivalent in value within one month after the robbery, he would send an armed party to enforce the demand. That is, he would in effect revert to the old reprisal system, though he chose to call it by another name.

The only course that suggested itself with regard to the Fingos was to remove them all to the Zitzikama, and form a large location there. As soon as the necessary arrangements could be made this scheme was attempted. A sum of money was raised by benevolent people in England to provide them with agricultural implements, a Moravian missionary was selected as their instructor, and a tract of land—to which the name Clarkson was given—was set apart for their use. But now the same difficulty arose that has often since been experienced in dealing with sections of the Bantu. The Fingos declined to move in a body. They were willing enough to send out a swarm to occupy the new

location, but to surrender a square rood of ground in exchange was something they could not make up their minds to. Very shortly came word that cattle would not thrive at the new settlement, so that the scheme was of necessity abandoned. Two years later the governor tried to get the Fingos who were at the Zitzikama back to the location between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, which he then desired to strengthen so that it could resist an attack; but he found it impossible to get the whole of them to return.

Some changes were made in the position of the troops, and a system of patrols was organised. During the winter of 1838 several Kaffirs were killed or wounded when in the act of driving off stolen cattle, and for a short time depredations became less numerous. But they were soon resumed on the same scale as before, and although the imperial authorities partly complied with the governor's request and sent to the Cape a wing of the first battalion of the 91st regiment, which arrived in April 1839, and enabled him to station eighteen hundred soldiers on the border, it was impossible to check thieving while the Kaffirs were in possession of the jungles in the valley of the Fish river. The Cape mounted rifles—reduced in June 1839 to six companies each of eighty rank and file—were so harassed with patrolling that some of the regiments of the line were furnished with horses to assist in the duty. But it was all to little or no purpose.

With regard to the treatment of the Kaffirs by the colonists before the recent war, the governor found himself obliged to change the opinions which he held on his arrival in South Africa. On the 18th of May he wrote asking Lord Glenelg to apply to parliament for compensation to the farmers for their losses, and pointed out that if a faulty system had caused the war, the imperial government alone was responsible for that system, as the colonists had no voice in the matter. He therefore hoped that the secretary of state would plead the cause of the unfortunate people, and try to obtain from the imperial treasury a grant to make good a portion of

the £350,000 worth of property which had been taken from them. Lord Glenelg, however, declined to accede to the request.

During this visit to the frontier the governor had a very unpleasant duty to perform, by sitting as a judge at the trial of the officer next in rank to himself in the colony. Before bringing his unsuccessful action against Captain Campbell, the lieutenant-governor had urgently requested the secretary of state to appoint a commission to investigate the charge of his having once shot a Kaffir boy, and on the 19th of December 1837 Lord Glenelg directed Major-General Napier to constitute a court for that purpose and to preside in it. The governor accordingly associated with himself Major Samuel Charters, who was his military secretary, and Captain the honourable Richard Dundas, of the ship-of-war *Melville*; and on the 21st of May 1838 opened the inquiry at Grahamstown.

Before this court Captain Stockenstrom tried to make it appear that there was a malicious conspiracy against him, of which the principals were Messrs. Campbell and Van Ryneveld, civil commissioners of Albany and Graaff-Reinet. He also endeavoured to show that the evidence against him was so conflicting as to be valueless. A great number of witnesses were examined, and many documents were put in. The court sat daily, Sundays excepted, until the 6th of June. The three members then, without consulting each other, drew up separate verdicts, which were forwarded to the secretary of state, and only made public in the colony several months later.

They all found that during the operations of the commando under Captain Fraser in December 1813 Captain Stockenstrom had shot a Kaffir who was trying to conceal himself under some driftwood in the bed of the Blinkwater river, but it was while a rush was being made to scour the thickets on the opposite bank into which a body of Xosas had retreated with their cattle; they found further that the Kaffir was armed with assagais and was between sixteen

and twenty-five years of age, so that the deed was a lawful military act; and they all fully and honourably acquitted the accused of having shot an unarmed boy in a coldblooded or cruel manner. At the same time they acquitted Messrs. Campbell and Van Ryneveld of conspiracy or dishonourable conduct, and the witnesses of corruption or collusion with each other; but they expressed an opinion that in the general antagonism towards Captain Stockenstrom some other individuals had been over zealous in hunting up evidence against him.

Thus the matter remained almost as the decision of the supreme court had left it. A Kaffir lad had been killed by Captain Stockenstrom, but no legal murder had been committed, because it was an act of war. The judgment placed the lieutenant-governor in exactly the position of Erasmus's patrol when Sigcawu was killed, and that was all his opponents of any note ever asserted. It was he, not they, who first professed to regard such an act as a heinous crime.

As soon as the inquiry was concluded, the lieutenant-governor requested leave of absence to proceed to England for the purpose of placing his resignation in the hands of Lord Glenelg, and announced that he intended never to return if he could find bread for his family in Europe. Some expressions in the despatch ordering the court of inquiry to be held made him fear that he had partly lost the confidence of the secretary of state. Major-General Napier complied with his request, and on the 9th of August Colonel John Hare, of the 27th regiment, assumed duty as acting lieutenant-governor.

Captain Stockenstrom left the public offices in the eastern districts in a condition very different from that in which he found them. The easy-going method of earlier years, under which the interests of private individuals were too often made subservient to the convenience of officials, was entirely done away with. Every one in the civil service was required to be at his post during certain specified hours,

and no work was allowed to fall in arrear. The convenience of the public was made the first consideration, no one was kept waiting for half a day perhaps before he could pay his taxes or enter a complaint. The great industry and power of application of the lieutenant-governor enabled him to watch over the minutest details of what was going on in all departments of the province, and in this respect no man could have exceeded him in ability.

Upon his arrival in England Captain Stockenstrom placed his resignation in Lord Glenelg's hands, but withdrew it upon the secretary of state expressing entire confidence in him. It was arranged that he should return to South Africa as lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts with a salary increased to £1,500 a year, when on the 8th of February 1839 Lord Glenelg received an intimation from the premier that the ministry had resolved upon certain changes, in respect to which he had not been consulted, and that he must retire from the office which he then held. There were other colonies besides the Cape that had been brought to the verge of ruin by his administration.

Lord Glenelg at once resigned, and on the 20th of the same month was succeeded by the marquess of Normanby, who had previously filled the posts of governor of Jamaica and viceroy of Ireland, and was therefore regarded as a man of experience. The new secretary would have permitted Captain Stockenstrom to return as lieutenant-governor, but matters soon came to his notice which made him hesitate. On the 21st of September 1836 Captain Campbell, civil commissioner of Albany and Somerset, was required also to perform the duty of resident magistrate of Albany, and in consequence of pressure of work the land books of Somerset got in arrear. Captain Stockenstrom, in his hostility towards that officer, then accused him of neglect of duty, and pushed the matter as far as he possibly could. Captain Campbell, broken down in health, was obliged to retire from the service, and on the 21st of August 1838 was succeeded as civil commissioner and

resident magistrate of Albany by Mr. Martin West, previously registrar of the supreme court of Bombay.

The question whether he was entitled to a retiring allowance rested upon the accuracy of Captain Stockenstrom's charge. Under these circumstances he retorted by taking up a newspaper scandal and accusing Captain Stockenstrom of corruption in having received a free grant of the farm Maasstrom, consisting of ten thousand acres of the best land in the old ceded territory. The charge and countercharge came before the secretary of state, who was irritated by having to attend to such matters when affairs of importance were pressing upon him. Sir George Napier, to whom the subject was referred, completely exonerated Captain Campbell and that gentleman was allowed a pension of £200 a year. On the other hand Captain Stockenstrom was able to show that he had obtained his estate from Sir Rufane Donkin in a perfectly honourable manner, at a time when land was being given away by the government to any official of high position who applied for it.

During the investigation of this matter it was brought strongly to Lord Normanby's notice that Captain Stockenstrom was exceedingly unpopular in South Africa. Major Charters, who was then in London, further gave the secretary of state to understand that Sir George Napier considered Captain Stockenstrom's return objectionable, though it was subsequently shown that he had mistaken some expressions of the governor. The correspondence to which this communication gave rise settled a doubt that had arisen in Lord Normanby's mind as to the prudence of forcing an unpopular administrator upon an irritated people.

On the 31st of August 1839 the secretary of state informed Captain Stockenstrom that in consequence of the feelings of distrust and alienation which had taken such deep root in the minds of a large proportion of the colonists as to deprive his services of the value which would otherwise belong to them, it was not expedient that he should resume the government of the eastern districts. Some

flattering expressions were added concerning his personal and official character, but he was left with nothing more than a promise that any claims he might make to recompense for the loss of his post would be taken into favourable consideration.

Three days later a change took place in the cabinet. Canada and Jamaica were violently disturbed, and matters generally in the dependencies of the empire were in such confusion that the ministers decided upon entrusting them to the ablest member of their party. On the 3rd of September Lord John Russell became secretary of state for the colonies, and the place he vacated was filled by the transfer of the marquess of Normanby to the home department. The new secretary offered Captain Stockenstrom the governorship of a West Indian island with knighthood, which he declined, and asked for a pension of £1,000 a year. Lord John Russell then offered him a pension of £700 a year from the colonial revenue and a baronetcy of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, which he accepted.

On the 31st of May 1840 the late lieutenant-governor, now Sir Andries Stockenstrom, reached South Africa again. Still sore from the loss of his office, he showed much resentment towards Sir George Napier, and involved himself in an acrimonious controversy with Judge Menzies, in which he was very severely worsted. But his good qualities rapidly gained the ascendency. Removed from the false position in which one great error had placed him, freed from the delirium caused by an unavailing struggle to make it appear that his conduct had been correct and consistent, and with ample time for reflection, his whole course of life was changed. The upright, honourable, patriotic conduct of his younger days was resumed as natural to him. He wanted indeed several elements of true greatness: he did not relinquish the habit of abusing imaginary opponents, he did not cease to quarrel with every one whom he regarded as a rival, and to his latest hour he would not admit in words that he had grievously erred;

but there never lived a man whose conduct at different periods formed a stronger contrast. Captain Stockenstrom giving evidence before the committee of the house of commons and acting as lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts, and Sir Andries Stockenstrom fifteen years later in occurrences that must be dealt with in other chapters, can hardly be recognised as the same individual. Fortune was kinder to him than to most men who tempt her: she gave him time and opportunity to recover the esteem and affection of his fellow-colonists, and he availed himself to the fullest extent of her favours.

Colonel Hare succeeded to the title of lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts, but the office ceased to be one of any importance. The administration was carried on by the governor as before 1836, the only difference being that instructions and reports now passed through a greater number of hands, and were consequently subject to more delay than in former years.

In October 1838 Sir George Napier reached Capetown again, after a long detention on the eastern border. He returned by way of the northern districts, and at Shiloh had a conference with the emigrant Tembu chiefs, whose people were at the time plundering the farmers in their neighbourhood almost at will. The governor informed them that he intended to enforce the observance of the treaties, and demanded the restoration of the stolen cattle known to be in their possession. They promised to comply, but failed to keep their word. Colonel Hare then sent a detachment of troops to the Zwart Kei, and at a meeting with Mapasa, Diniso, and other chiefs, urged them to act honestly, at the same time informing them that if they did not give up their booty he would be obliged to take it by force.

After allowing them ample time without any good result, the lieutenant-governor found himself obliged either to revert to the old reprisal system or to submit to be set at defiance. With Sir George Napier's approval, in April 1839 he assembled a strong military force in two divisions, respectively

under Lieutenant-Colonel Greaves, of the 75th regiment, and Major Armstrong, of the Cape mounted rifles. This force marched to the kraals of Mapasa and Diniso, seized the whole of their cattle, and drove the herds to Shiloh. There the farmers who had been plundered were compensated by Mr. Henry Fynn, the political agent, and the residue was afterwards restored to the chiefs. In the march Major Armstrong's division was attacked, and was obliged to fire upon the Tembus, when one of them was killed. This action had a decidedly good effect, and for some time afterwards that part of the country enjoyed comparative tranquillity.

Makoma also learned a lesson from it, and being threatened with similar treatment if he did not keep his people in order, for some months there was almost a cessation of robberies along the Gaika line. But the memory of barbarians is short, and the temptation was too great to be long resisted.

Early in 1840 Sandile, son of Sutu and legal heir of Gaika, was circumcised. He was a weakminded boy, and was frail in body also, for one of his legs was withered. As is customary on such occasions, the event of his circumcision was celebrated with prolonged revelry by the people over whom he was about to become the head. Month after month dancing and feasting continued in all the glens of the Amatola range, and he was the hero of the hour who brought the most and the fattest cattle from the pastures of Albany to contribute to the supply of food. Sir George Napier hardly knew what to do. With experience his views of the Glenelg system had become greatly changed, and on the 21st of September 1840 he informed the secretary of state that after a trial of four years the Stockenstrom treaties had utterly failed. Decisive action of some kind was needed, as delay was no longer possible "without the risk, nay almost the certainty, of the plundered, harassed, and justly irritated farmers taking the law into their own hands and suddenly entering the Kaffir country with commandos to

retake their cattle by force, if not to revenge by bloodshed all their wrongs."

Under the Stockenstrom treaties a farmer was obliged to employ armed herdsmen, otherwise he had no claim to aid from the government if his cattle were stolen. This condition acted like a premium upon murder. The Kaffirs regarded the killing of the herdsmen as a clever performance, and within four years after the introduction of the system no fewer than forty-nine individuals thus lost their lives. In addition to these a trader named Charles Bezant was murdered at Pato's kraal on the 6th of July 1838, and his shop was plundered—as the Gunukwebes asserted—by Nonibe's people. Thus fifty murders within four years were chargeable to the Kaffir clans, though the governor wrote that not a single act of injustice or infringement of the treaties had been committed towards those people by colonists.

The difficulty of the situation was increased by the 72nd regiment being recalled to England in April 1840. The governor dared not move a man from the frontier, so he kept there the 27th, 75th, and a wing of the 91st, with the Cape mounted riflemen and some artillerymen and engineers, leaving the defence of the Cape peninsula to the 25th regiment only. Three companies of the 91st were at St. Helena.

In 1839 the chief justice, Sir John Wylde, when on circuit sentenced nine convicted cattle thieves to death, with a view of deterring others from the commission of this crime; but the governor mitigated the sentence, knowing that public opinion in England would be horrified if it was carried into effect. The secretary of state approved of the mitigation. He issued instructions to try if a better arrangement could not be made with the chiefs, though the treaties were not to be abrogated until some other feasible system should be submitted for his consideration, and the clans must be dealt with as independent powers. With these instructions, on the 6th of October 1840 the

governor left Capetown to visit the frontier for the second time.

On the 24th and 25th of November he had an interview with some ninety or a hundred farmers at Fort Beaufort, when he heard their complaints and discussed measures of relief. Mr. Stretch, diplomatic agent with the Gaika clans, who was in attendance, was then sent to the chiefs to propose certain alterations in the treaties, and to invite them to meet the governor on the 1st of December at a spot close by Lovedale mission station.

On the day appointed, Sandile, Makoma, Tyali, Anta, Botumane, Eno, Tshatshu, and some others of less note, with about four thousand armed followers, gathered on the high ground above Mr. Stretch's residence, hardly a musket shot from the present classrooms of the Lovedale institution, and there, after a long conference, at which the Kaffirs all agreed that friendship should be renewed on account of Sandile having come of age, the chiefs consented to some very important modifications of the Stockenstrom treaties. The principal of these were that British subjects should be at liberty to enter Kaffirland in pursuit of stolen cattle, provided they went unarmed and in small parties; that they need not be accompanied by Kaffir police; that it should not be necessary for farmers to maintain armed herdsmen; that persons from whom cattle were stolen could claim reasonable damages as well as restitution of their property; and that murderers of people in British territory should be surrendered by the chiefs to the colonial authorities.

To this effect on the 2nd of December the chiefs attached their marks to modified clauses of the Stockenstrom treaty, which were also duly signed by Sir George Napier, Colonel Hare, and the diplomatic agents.

On the 29th of December precisely the same course was followed at Fort Peddie with the Fingo chiefs Umhlambiso, Jokweni, Matomela, and Zibi, and the Gunukwebe chiefs Pato, Kama, and Kobe. On the 31st of December at

Fort Peddie similar arrangements were made with the Ndlambe chiefs Umkayi, Umhala, Gasela, Siyolo, and Nonibe for her son Siwani. And lastly, on the 28th of January 1841 the emigrant Tembu chief Mapasa met the governor at Grahamstown, and attached his mark to the same conditions.

These changes were regarded with much satisfaction by the frontier colonists, though no one supposed that the chiefs had any intention of keeping their new engagements. But considering treaties of this kind merely as rules of conduct for white people, they found themselves much less hampered now by regulations which seemed to have been framed purposely to tempt robbers.

Shortly after these arrangements were made intelligence reached South Africa that the Melbourne ministry had fallen. Having been defeated by a majority of one on an important question, on the 23rd of June parliament was dissolved, and the ministers appealed to the country. The result was a victory for the conservatives, and on the 3rd of September 1841 Sir Robert Peel became premier and Lord Stanley secretary for the colonies. In South Africa it was supposed that the new government would introduce a more vigorous policy in favour of order; but for a considerable time no changes were made, except that the military force on the frontier was greatly strengthened.

The 72nd regiment had left for England in April 1840, but the 25th arrived at the same time to take its place. In April 1842 the 25th left for India, when three companies of the 91st, completing the first battalion of that regiment, arrived from St. Helena, and in August of the same year the second battalion was added to the Cape garrison. In February 1843 a transport bound to Mauritius put into Table Bay with the reserve battalion of the 12th on board, and the governor took the responsibility of detaining the troops to garrison Capetown, and adding the second battalion of the 91st to the force on the frontier. On the 1st of May of the same year the 45th arrived from Cork to relieve

the 75th, which enabled the governor to allow the 12th to proceed to Mauritius. In June the skeleton of the 75th embarked for England, about two hundred and fifty men belonging to the regiment having taken their discharge in the colony. The 7th dragoon guards, three hundred and thirty-two strong, arrived from England within the same week, and were at once sent to the frontier. The artillery and engineer force was also strengthened. The troops in the colony now consisted of four battalions of infantry—namely the two of the 91st, one of the 27th, and one of the 45th—a regiment of dragoons, the Cape mounted rifles, and a number of artillerymen and engineers.

Even with the large force which could now be stationed on the frontier it was found impossible to prevent depredations, though there was an agreement of opinion among the military officers that if the line of the Keiskama and the Tyumie had been preserved, so as to cover the jungles of the Fish river, a smaller body of troops would have sufficed for the purpose.

On the 1st of May 1842 the chief Tyali died of a chest complaint at his kraal in the Tyumie valley, and as his sons Fini and Oba were mere lads, his brother Xoxo was appointed regent of the clan. Xoxo was possessed of a fair amount of ability, and was guided by the old councillors, so that the condition of this branch of the Gaikas underwent very little change upon the death of its turbulent head.

Tyali had long been ill, but the people would not believe that a man of his rank had died a natural death, and a witchfinder was therefore employed to smell out those who had killed him. This man pointed to Sutu, great widow of Gaika, as the guilty person, and for some hours she was in danger of being maltreated. But the diplomatic agent Stretch and the missionaries of the Glasgow society, learning what was taking place, hastened to the dead chief's kraal, and as they found a large party doubtful of Sutu's guilt, or at any rate unwilling that the mother of Sandile

should suffer punishment, they succeeded in rescuing her. She was conveyed to the mission house at Burnshill, and remained there until the excitement was over. It was generally supposed in the colony that Sutu was smelt out at the instigation of Makoma, who was believed to be ambitious and would have gained greatly by her fall; but men who are well acquainted with Kaffir ideas, and who know the full particulars of this event, acquit him of the atrocious design.

During the early months of 1843 the pillage of the colony was leading to such exasperation of the farmers that the governor resolved to make an example of the most notorious robbers. There was a clan of the Imidange under a captain named Tola, whose kraals were between Fort Beaufort and the abandoned fort Willshire. These people prided themselves upon being the most expert stocklifters in the country, and their reputation in this respect was so widespread that they were joined by many clever and aspiring men from other parts. Tola thus rose to be a chief of importance among his fellows, though the farmers of Albany were wont to stigmatise him as the greatest scoundrel at large. The other chiefs assured Colonel Hare that they had no sympathy with him, and would punish him for his misdeeds if he were not so strong.

An arrangement was then made with Sandile that a body of troops should assist to chastise the offender, he promising to aid with the whole of the Gaika clans. Accordingly on the 7th of June 1843 four divisions of soldiers, in all six hundred men, under the general direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, marched from Grahamstown towards Tola's kraals. At the same time Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, who in February 1839 had succeeded Mr. J. M. Bowker as diplomatic agent with the Fingos and Gunukwebes, marched from Fort Peddie with a Fingo contingent to attack the marauder from the south. Sandile with the Gaikas was to have cut off his retreat northward and eastward, so that it was hoped he might be secured.

But when the soldiers reached the kraals of Tola they found that he and his people had fled eastward to the Kwelegha river, and so far from the Gaikas assisting, it was apparent that they were prepared to protect the robbers against seizure, and that a further advance of the troops would be the signal of a general war. The Fingos pursued some distance, but were then recalled, and the military force retired, taking with them five hundred head of cattle, the only trophy of this inglorious expedition. The cattle were distributed at Fort Beaufort to the principal sufferers from robberies, and the soldiers went back to their posts.

On the 23rd of June the lieutenant-governor had a conference with the Rarabe chiefs at Fort Beaufort, when he remonstrated with them upon their treacherous conduct. As usual, they were quite ready to upbraid themselves for the past, and to make ample promises for the future; but on both sides the proceedings were regarded as a farce. Yet this was the method by which what was called peace was preserved under the modified Stockenstrom treaties.

At this time—June 1843—the Gunukwebe captain Kama, the most orderly and honest of all the Xosa chiefs, foreseeing that a general war must soon take place and not wishing to be involved in it, abandoned the country near the coast and with his people moved to the neighbourhood of the Lesuto, where he was provided with a location by Moshesh. Kama was a convert to Christianity, and was held in much respect by the white people. His removal from the vicinity of Fort Peddie was an intimation of the part he knew his brother Pato would take in the coming struggle.

On the 1st of December 1838 the period of negro apprenticeship expired, and the farmers of the western districts found themselves almost without servants. In some instances indeed the attachment to their late masters was strong enough to keep the freedmen at work until the crops then ripening were gathered, but in general they made their way to the nearest towns and villages, where they could lead lives of comparative idleness. Huddled together

in little apartments in back streets and alleys—especially in Capetown—they could exist upon the merest trifle, and for more than that the majority seemed to have no desire. The townspeople were only too glad to get their services occasionally at high wages, and with the payment for a couple of days' labour they could live upon fish and rice for a week. Numerous philanthropic societies provided for them in sickness, and ineffectually strove to inculcate a desire for industry and cleanliness. Their children were gathered together in schools, and were taught to read and write, a kind of knowledge that without improved habits of life they could not turn to much account.

The freed people were in this state when on the 20th of February 1839 the measles appeared in Capetown. For more than thirty years the colony had been free of that disease, and no one knew how it originated on this occasion, but very shortly it made its presence felt in an alarming manner. Spreading through the country, it attacked especially the coloured people who were living amidst filth in stifling rooms, and during the next three months created fearful havoc among them.

In January of the following year the small-pox broke out among some negroes landed from a captured vessel, and although every possible effort was made by the government to check it, it spread with frightful rapidity. Since 1812 this loathsome disease had been unknown in the colony, though towards the close of 1831 it was prevalent among the Griquas and Koranas north of the Orange river, having been brought there as was supposed from Delagoa Bay. During the winter of 1840 it proved fatal to a good many white people, and carried off several thousand negroes. The exact number could not be ascertained.

At this time the imperial government made such alterations in the duties on wines entering Great Britain that the Cape could no longer compete with Southern Europe. Coupled with the scarcity of labour, this produced such an effect that the exportation of wine rapidly fell off. Instead of it,

wool was now fast rising to the first place in the list of exports, and it may be said that merino sheep saved the country from general bankruptcy.

To compensate for the great number of white people who were leaving the colony, efforts to obtain emigrants from Great Britain were made by means of petitions to the imperial government and proposals of some of the unofficial members in the legislative council. The plan generally favoured was to appropriate to immigration purposes from £8,000 to £12,000 yearly from the loans being repaid to the government bank, instead of destroying that amount of paper money. Applications were then to be called from persons requiring labourers of any kind, and upon their giving a guarantee to provide employment for a fixed term at specified wages, an agent in England was to select the people needed and send them out at the cost of the colony.

But the imperial authorities declined to sanction any expenditure that could be avoided until the public debt was paid off, as under the measures adopted in 1825 Great Britain was responsible for the notes which represented the greater part of the debt, they being exchangeable for treasury bills. There was thus no state-aided emigration from Europe to the Cape at this time. A few families came out of their own accord, three or four hundred soldiers whose term of service had expired were allowed to take their discharge on the frontier, some English emigrants bound to Australia and New Zealand were wrecked in Table Bay and remained here, and in 1843 some artisans began to arrive at Port Elizabeth from England under a system of advanced passages inaugurated by Mr. Joseph S. Christophers; but the whole number thus added to the European population was small.

Even the supply of juvenile immigrants received by means of the Children's Friend Society came to an end in 1839. This society was founded in 1830 by Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, of the royal navy, with the benevolent

design of rescuing destitute children in the great cities of England from a life of vice and misery. In Capetown there was a committee of clergymen and government officials, who co-operated with the directors in London, received the children when they were sent out, and saw that they were apprenticed to suitable persons. Of the Capetown committee, Mr. John Fairbairn, editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, was secretary, and no man could have been more careful of the interests of the children than he. There was a special ordinance providing for the protection of the immigrants, and empowering the committee to apprentice them.

By this means about seven hundred and fifty children were brought to South Africa, when an untoward event caused the enterprise to come to an end. Though efforts were made by the directors to exclude hardened criminals from their operations, a few lads of depraved habits eluded their vigilance, and arrived in the colony only to give endless trouble. Some letters which one of these boys wrote to his friends in London were made public, and caused benevolent people there to suspect that the children were subject to very harsh treatment in South Africa. The directors of the institution at once requested the secretary of state to appoint a special commission of inquiry, and Lord Normanby instructed Sir George Napier to do so and forward a full report. The society also sent out Mrs. Bourhill, the matron of one of its receiving establishments near London, to report upon the condition of the girls, and to remain here as superintendent of female immigrants.

Just at this time a boy named Trubshaw, who was one of twelve lads apprenticed to Mr. G. H. de Wet, a farmer near Stellenbosch, ran away from his employer, and worked his passage in a ship to England. Two days after his arrival in London he was taken before a magistrate on a charge of theft, and there he told a story which roused an outburst of prejudice against the Children's Friend Society. He said that he had been sold at the Cape of Good Hope as a slave to a

farmer, by whom he had been so cruelly treated that he had been forced to run away, and as he had no food nor means to obtain any when he reached home he was obliged to steal.

In accordance with Lord Normanby's instructions, the governor directed Captain Hill and Majors Longmore, Piers, and Barnes to inquire into the condition of the juvenile immigrants. They found that there had been a few instances of harsh conduct towards the children, the very worst of which was by an English officer who was afterwards dismissed from the queen's service by a court-martial on account of it; but that in the vast majority of instances the apprentices were very well treated. As for Mr. De Wet, from whom Trubshaw had run away, he was an exemplary master, and the eleven apprentices remaining with him had not a word of complaint. As a rule the children were in excellent health, were comfortably provided for, were learning to get an honest living by labour, and altogether had much better prospects than they could ever have had in England. According to their indentures a small sum of money ranging from three pence to a shilling a week was placed to the credit of each in a savings bank. There were exceptions to this general statement, but they were mostly of children with vicious habits, who should never have been sent out.

Mrs. Bourhill died in July 1839, after sending home a report which might be termed enthusiastic regarding the condition of the girls. She expressed an earnest wish that many thousands of poor children then going to ruin in the great English cities could be placed in as good positions.

Meantime it was ascertained in London that the boy Trubshaw under another name had been twice convicted of petty theft before the Children's Friend Society took him under its care. The society challenged the strictest investigation into his statement that he had been sold as a slave, and asserted that the only ground for such a charge was the

fact that persons in the colony on receiving an apprentice were required to contribute from £7 to £9 to their funds to aid in defraying the expense of outfit, passage, and maintenance of the child.

This, however, did not allay the outburst of prejudice against the society by the very class of people benefited by its operations, and even respectable newspapers continued to hurl charges of gross mismanagement against it, only one of which had any foundation in fact, namely that the children sent out were often placed as apprentices in such situations that they could not attend church regularly every Sunday. Captain Brenton's death was hastened by the opprobrium heaped upon him, and the mourners at his funeral were insulted by an angry mob.

The committee in Capetown resigned, declaring that they would no longer expose themselves to the abuse of those persons in England who paid implicit belief to every foolish report or misrepresentation to the discredit of the colony.

On the 2nd of January 1840 Sir George Napier published a notice in the *Gazette*, stating his confident trust that the reports of the commission of inquiry would effectually disabuse the public mind in England as to the general treatment and actual condition of the apprentices, and recording his opinion that the directors in London as well as the commissioners on the spot deserved thanks instead of the unmerited reproach to which they had been subjected.

The society tried to live down the bitter feeling against it, and after a time the committee in Capetown consented to resume its labours. In November 1840 the farm Belle Ombre, four hundred and twenty-two acres in extent, a little beyond Wynberg, was purchased for £1,750 with a view to its being converted into an industrial and training school for the children until it could be seen which were fit to be apprenticed either to tradesmen or farmers. But popular prejudice in London was not to be overcome, and in May 1841 the Children's Friend Society was finally

dissolved, thus bringing to an end one of the best schemes ever devised for benefiting alike poor English children and Cape colonists.

Though European immigrants were few at this period, it was different with blacks, many of whom were brought in by British cruisers, taken in captured slave ships. Such vessels went through the form of being condemned by a court of mixed commission, established under treaties between Great Britain and Spain and Portugal. The negroes were then landed, and apprenticed by the collector of customs; but by an order from England none under nineteen years of age could be given out for farm work. Some two or three thousand blacks also, who were being maintained at St. Helena at the expense of the imperial government, were forwarded to the Cape by order of Sir George Napier, and so great was the want of the farmers that they were not only eagerly inquired for, but there was no difficulty in raising money by subscription to defray the cost of their transport.

As regards public works, Sir George Napier, like every preceding governor, saw the need of roads, bridges, light-houses, and harbour improvements; but without money nothing could be done, and the instructions of both Lord John Russell and Lord Stanley were to pay off the colonial debt before proposing any expenditure that could be avoided.

Many of the colonists maintained that Great Britain ought to redeem the debt, because she had imposed such an expensive government upon the country from 1806 to 1834 as to cripple its finances, and was also in possession of the military buildings which formed part of the security for the paper money. The secretaries of state, however, did not concur in this opinion, and thought England was acting generously by not claiming payment for £67,233 of the paper money for which treasury bills were given in exchange by the commissariat shortly after the value of the rixdollar note was fixed at one shilling and sixpence. That amount

Great Britain consented to lose, and the colony was now required to pay off the remainder. Expenses of every kind were therefore cut down as much as possible, and every penny of surplus revenue was applied to the extinction of the debt. Wherever government farms had been leased, as at Groenekloof, the occupants were permitted to become proprietors by paying fifteen years' rent at once, and several public buildings were sold. The money thus obtained, as also the private fund of the orphan chamber, or surplus interest as it was called after that institution was placed under the master of the supreme court, and even Mr. Van Dessin's legacy to the chamber, was devoted to the same object.

By these means the debt was greatly reduced, when in April 1843 Mr. John Montagu became secretary to government. He applied himself to the subject with the closest attention, and having ascertained that there was a large amount of revenue many years overdue, he set about collecting it with an intensity of purpose from which even pity for the distressed was absent. He succeeded so well that upon the expiration of Sir George Napier's tenure of office the debt was almost extinguished. There was then sufficient recoverable arrear revenue with the estimated surplus of the following year to meet the amount still due, except £40,000 for which provision was made by an offer to convert quitrent tenure land into freehold upon payment of fifteen years' rental, the offer to hold good only until the sum required was realised. Before the close of 1845 the colony was free of debt.

The only important improvement in the thoroughfares of the country at this time was the construction of what is known as "the queen's road," between Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort. It was made by military labour under the supervision of Mr. Andrew Geddes Bain, and its cost was entirely defrayed from the military chest. There were no extraordinary physical difficulties to be surmounted, but the road is still regarded as a good specimen of what engineering skill can

effect in a broken country. The Fish river at Fort Brown and the Kat river at Fort Beaufort were spanned by substantial stone bridges. The foundation stone of that at Fort Beaufort—named the Victoria bridge—was laid by Lady Napier in November 1840.

In December 1836 Lord Glenelg authorised the creation of a harbour board for Table Bay, with power to collect wharfage charges, to borrow money on security of such charges, and to complete the stone pier, the work on which was suspended in 1833. But the unofficial members of the legislative council objected to this scheme, and in its stead urged that the government should construct two or three cheap dwarf jetties, which would serve the purposes of trade until a comprehensive scheme for the improvement of the bay could be taken in hand. This course was adopted, but after the completion of the first jetty, close to the old wharf at the castle, Sir George Napier did not venture to commence another until the merchants of Capetown raised £2,900 by subscription, purchased a range of buildings previously used by a fishing company, and transferred it to the government to be turned into offices and stores. He then caused a substantial jetty to be built at the foot of Bree-street. The first cost only £1,404, the second £7,479. The last was opened for use on the 1st of January 1842.

An association called the commercial wharf company was now formed for the purpose of landing and shipping merchandise, which was still conveyed in boats to and from vessels at anchor. The Table Bay boatmen enjoyed the reputation of being among the most expert of their class in the world, and their feats in conveying anchors and cables to badly-found ships in winter gales often required the utmost daring as well as the greatest skill.

As several vessels in succession were lost at night on the rocks at Mouille Point, the secretary of state was induced to give his consent to a lighthouse of an inexpensive class being built there. A clear white light forty feet above sea-level was first exhibited on the 1st of July 1842.

In Algoa Bay a jetty was constructed by a commercial company. In 1837 a vessel named the *Feejee* foundered there near the shore, when it occurred to Mr. John Thornhill, a resident of Port Elizabeth, to turn the wreck to account. He purchased it, drove a number of piles round it, framed them together, and let the structure stand for some months on trial. As it remained firm, in March 1838 he formed a company to build a jetty. The woodwork was completed, and on the 10th of April 1840—the twentieth anniversary of the landing of the first British settlers on the same spot—the foundation stone of the inshore portion was laid with much ceremony by Mr. William Lloyd, resident magistrate of the district. But the enterprise ended disastrously. In a gale on the 25th of August 1843 four ships were wrecked in Algoa Bay. One of them struck the jetty, and eleven of her crew sprang upon it, believing it to be a place of safety. The next moment the whole structure was swept away, and the men disappeared in the general wreckage. Theirs were the only lives lost on the occasion, and of twelve vessels at anchor in the morning eight rode out the gale.

Great efforts to improve Port Frances were made by an enterprising British settler named William Cock, who maintained that the mouth of the Kowie could be made one of the best harbours in the world. He was a man of means, and was willing to venture his capital in the project. On the 27th of November 1839 an ordinance was issued to enable him and his partner—Mr. George Hodgskin—to improve the port, and to levy fees for a specified period upon goods landed or shipped there. Mr. Cock then set to work to construct training walls of wattled timber banked behind with sand and bushes, for the purpose of narrowing the mouth of the river and washing away the bar. He believed himself to be in a fair way of success, but the loss of two sailing vessels in succession when leaving Port Frances caused others to be doubtful.

Mr. Cock then got out a steamer of one hundred and forty tons and forty horse power, named the *Sir John St.*

Aubyn, to ply between Port Frances and Table Bay and also to tow sailing vessels in and out of the Kowie. She arrived from England on the 2nd of July 1842, but on the 31st of January 1843 was wrecked when endeavouring to enter the Kowie with a vessel in tow.

Not discouraged yet, Mr. Cock next got up an association called the Kowie Navigation Company, of which he was the chief shareholder, and had a couple of small iron sailing vessels built in England to trade between Port Frances and Table Bay. These vessels—named the *British Settler* and the *Chanticleer*—were for some time running on the coast, but could seldom procure cargoes at or for Port Frances. The place did not therefore attain that importance which the British settlers had anticipated for it ever since their arrival.

CHAPTER XXV.

SIR GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, GOVERNOR—(*continued*).

AT the strongly expressed desire of the legislative council, the secretary of state consented to great reforms being made in the method of raising the revenue. The taxes between 1836 and 1850 were the following:—

1. Capitation tax. This was levied at the rate of six shillings yearly on all males over sixteen and unmarried females or widows over twenty years of age. It was imposed by an ordinance on the 5th of March 1829, but was abolished in January 1840, after which arrears only were collected.

2. Taxes on male house or stable servants, at the rate of ten shillings a year, on horses and mules kept for pleasure, at the rate of ten shillings a year, on horses and mules maintained for trade or agriculture, at the rate of one shilling a year, on four-wheeled vehicles kept for pleasure, at the rate of four pounds a year, on carts kept for pleasure, at the rate of two pounds a year, on four-wheeled vehicles kept for trade or agriculture, at five shillings a year, on carts kept for trade or agriculture, at two shillings and six pence a year, and on incomes over £30 a year not derived from agriculture or cattle rearing, at the rate of two per cent. These taxes were imposed by an ordinance on the 5th of March 1829, but ceased to be levied after the 6th of February 1839 except as arrears.

3. Taxes on stock and produce. The first of these was the impost levied for district purposes from the earliest days of the colony, and was based upon returns of their cattle furnished by the farmers themselves. On the 1st of April 1814 the rates were altered to three farthings a year for

each horse or head of horned cattle, and two pence farthing for every twenty-five sheep or goats. At the same time grain was taxed at three farthings a muid, wine at six pence a legger, and brandy at one shilling and a penny halfpenny a legger. After the 1st of January 1828 these taxes—probably in their effect upon the character of the people the very worst that could be devised—were paid into the general revenue, but were abolished at the close of 1838.

4. Taxes on grain, brandy, and wine brought to Cape-town or Simonstown for sale. The impost on grain was a commutation of the ancient tithes, and that on brandy and wine was also of long standing. On the 13th of December 1820 these taxes were reduced in amount, on the 10th of December 1834 that on wine was abolished, and on the 8th of July 1842 those on grain and brandy were done away with.

5. Port dues. These were modified by an ordinance dated the 27th of November 1827, and were thereafter levied at the rate of two pence farthing a ton on vessels touching for refreshment, four pence halfpenny a ton on trading vessels, and nine pence a ton yearly on coasters. A fee of seven shillings and six pence was also charged for anchorage, and a similar amount for a clearance. These taxes were abolished on the 30th of January 1844.

6. Government bank. The revenue from this institution was derived from interest on paper money lent and discount on bills. After the establishment of the Cape of Good Hope and South African banks it ceased to pay, it was then some time in liquidation, and was finally closed on the 31st of December 1842.

7. Tolls and ferries. On the 22nd of November 1843 these were transferred to the central board of commissioners for public roads.

8. Stamps and Licenses. Stamps of different value were required on almost every legal document. Licenses were needed to carry on business of different kinds, and

especially to deal in spirituous liquors. Until the 5th of October 1846 a retail license to sell wines and spirits cost from £112 10*s.* a year in the principal towns to £3 a year in country places, but by an ordinance of that date a uniform charge of £20 a year was substituted.

9. Auction dues. This tax was of ancient date, and was confirmed by ordinances of the 7th of December 1827 and the 20th of February 1844. The charge was four per cent on auction sales of movable property and two per cent on auction sales of land.

10. Transfer dues. This also was an ancient tax, but was modified by a proclamation of the 2nd of January 1818, confirmed by an ordinance of the 26th of December 1844. The charge was four per cent on the purchase amount of freehold property or quitrent farms, and two and a half per cent on the bonus given for loan places.

11. Fines and fees of office. These were sums paid for drawing up legal documents of various kinds, charges in the orphan chamber branch of the office of the master of the supreme court, judicial fines, pound fees, &c.

12. Somerset hospital. The receipts under this heading arose from a charge to patients of means, varying from one shilling and three pence to three shillings a day.

13. Land rents. After the 6th of August 1813 these were derived from quitrents and from land leased before that date and not subsequently brought under quitrent tenure. The quitrent varied according to the value of the land when assigned to the first holder, and was fixed by a board with the governor's approval.

14. Postal receipts. By ordinances of the 11th of June 1834 and the 6th of November 1837 the charges for conveyance of letters from one part of the colony to another were made to vary from two pence to thirteen pence halfpenny the quarter-ounce, according to distance. Ship letters were charged four pence the quarter-ounce additional. Newspapers were charged a penny for any distance inland, and a penny for ocean transit. By an ordinance of the 7th of January

1846 the postage on letters inland was fixed at four pence the half-ounce, irrespective of distance, and the same charge was made for ocean transit. Newspapers remained as before. After the 1st of January 1846 there was a post twice a week between the principal seats of magistracy throughout the colony.

15. Sale of land. During this period all the old drostdy buildings, except that at Worcester, were sold, and the civil commissioners and resident magistrates were obliged to provide themselves with dwelling houses. By this means the excessive charges for repairs, which the government had previously been obliged to meet, were got rid of. The government farms in Groenekloof and elsewhere were also disposed of, the lessees being allowed to purchase them by paying fifteen years' rent. The proceeds of the sale of waste lands and a small item for sale of stone quarried at Robben Island were also included under this heading.

16. Customs duties. At the strongly expressed desire of the legislative council, the secretary of state consented to increase these dues, so as to allow of the abolition of the various vexatious and unpopular taxes. The order in council of the 22nd of February 1832—given in a preceding chapter—was superseded by another on the 10th of August 1840, which placed special duties on various articles. An order in council on the 8th of May 1841 reduced the import duties on goods from British India to the same rates as on similar goods from other British possessions. On the 11th of March 1842 an order in council was issued, raising the duties on all articles not specially rated to five per cent of the value if brought from British possessions, and to twelve per cent of the value if brought from foreign countries. Further small modifications were made in specialised articles by orders in council on the 24th of April 1847 and the 31st of October 1848.

The average yearly revenue during periods of five years each is here given, but for one of the periods it is not absolutely correct, as the returns for 1841 in the records are not complete.

	From 1836 to 1840.	From 1841 to 1845.	From 1846 to 1850.
Capitation tax	£4,031	£1,825	
Tax on servants	127	29	
Tax on horses and carriages	3,658	1,230	
Income tax	2,224	899	
Tax on stock and produce	2,102	94	
Tax on grain brought to Capetown or Simonstown for sale	1,197	431	
Tax on wine and brandy brought to Capetown or Simonstown for sale	169	32	
Port dues	2,142	1,164	
Government bank	6,597	1,800	
Tolls and ferries	3,073	1,865	
Stamps and licenses	18,877	18,945	19,260
Auction dues	16,024	14,112	17,102
Transfer dues	18,338	17,854	21,958
Fines and fees of office	6,335	6,313	5,620
Somerset hospital	342	419	402
Land rents	12,896	17,471	16,509
Postal receipts	5,704	7,722	11,493
Sale of land	6,140	5,370	11,982
Customs duties	40,157	64,471	99,145
Licenses to remove guano		9,375	785
Miscellaneous	1,631	1,840	1,518
	£151,764	£173,261	£205,774

The Capetown local taxes were paid into the colonial treasury after the abolition of the burgher senate on the 1st of January 1828 until the establishment of a municipal council on the 1st of October 1840. They were on an average from 1836 to 1840:—

House rates	£1,267
Water rates	1,463
Rent of shambles and quarries	885
Market dues	2,630
	£6,245

The imports were greatly inflated during the early years of this period by speculation upon the money received for the slaves, and it was necessary to seek other markets for large quantities of goods intended in the first instance for sale in South Africa. The following figures give the average yearly values:—

	From 1836 to 1840.	From 1841 to 1845.	From 1846 to 1850.
Goods entered for home consumption	£843,297	£708,458	£1,010,104
Goods imported, placed in bonding warehouses, and afterwards exported to other countries	342,254	143,139	155,108
Proportion of imports in British ships	96 per cent.	94 per cent.	93 per cent.

The exports of colonial produce were steadily rising in value, owing, however, almost entirely to the increase of sheep's wool. In agricultural produce, especially in wine, there was a considerable falling off, due largely to the scarcity and dearness of labour. The average yearly values were :—

	From 1836 to 1840.	From 1841 to 1845.	From 1846 to 1850.
Aloes	£2,159	£3,886	£2,929
Argol	343	1,347	853
Beef and pork	5,279	4,852	9,057
Brandy	105	290	613
Butter	8,166	6,111	3,839
Dried fish	3,838	8,654	8,334
Dried fruit	4,018	3,541	3,166
Grain	23,635	15,117	13,645
Hides and skins	47,842	48,713	46,564
Horns	3,790	1,881	1,130
Horses and mules	11,034	10,953	8,767
Ivory	1,508	2,320	7,243
Ostrich feathers	2,144	4,528	4,353
Tallow	5,556	5,287	3,385
Wax	163	143	451
Whalebone and oil	1,872	976	508
Wine	92,111	52,717	41,227
Wool	30,229	99,593	201,932
Other articles	15,355	23,819	22,471
	£259,147	£299,728	£380,467
Proportion of colonial produce shipped at Port Elizabeth	18 per cent.	37 per cent.	47 per cent.

Upon Sir George Napier's arrival in South Africa he found that Sir Benjamin D'Urban had contemplated a

reform in the system of public education, and that an exhaustive report upon the condition of the country schools had been prepared by Colonel Bell, the secretary to government.

An account of the introduction of the system of education then existing has already been given, but in most of its details changes had recently been made. The free schools established in 1822 were still open, though they had long ceased to maintain as high a position as in earlier years. Some of the most competent teachers had secured more lucrative situations, others had died, and an inferior class of men had taken their places. The bible and school commission—which consisted of a few of the high officials selected by the governor, and the clergymen of the Dutch reformed, Lutheran, English episcopal, and Scotch presbyterian churches in Capetown—was supposed to exercise control over all schools in the colony receiving aid from the government; but in reality its supervision was only in name. Of this commission the reverend Jan Hendrik von Manger was chairman for many years, but the infirmity attending advanced age prevented his displaying much energy, though he did not retire from active service as a clergyman until the 21st of July 1839, and continued to take an interest in educational matters until his death on the 2nd of May 1842.

In each district there was a school board, consisting of the resident magistrate as chairman, the clergyman, and a number of members elected by contributors to the funds. These boards nominated the teachers, but the governor had the right of appointment. They provided schoolrooms, school furniture, and residences for the teachers, usually collecting funds for the purpose by public subscription. Until 1834 the masters received fixed salaries from the colonial treasury, but after that date, by desire of the bible and school commission, they received salaries not exceeding £40 a year, with £5 extra for every ten pupils over twenty, and small fees from parents able to pay. In

1838 there were in the whole colony twenty-three village schools of the class established in 1822. There was also a class of elementary schools connected with churches, in which the church clerk acted as schoolmaster, and received a small salary from government for both services.

For the coloured people much better provision was made by mission societies, aided in many instances by grants of money from the government. Mission schools were scattered broadcast over the land. Zealous teachers were ever busy gathering children together and instructing them free of charge, for benevolent people in Europe and South Africa bore the cost. At this time there were in the colony seventeen Moravian clergymen, fifteen clergymen connected with the London mission, and having as their head the reverend Dr. Philip, whose zeal was unwearied in advancing the education of the coloured people, ten clergymen of the Wesleyan society, six of the Rhenish, one of the Berlin, one of the Paris, and one of the South African missionary society. All of these had numerous lay assistants, male and female, and all were intent upon instructing the children of the negroes, mixed breeds, and Hottentots, in the use of books. The Moravians and some of the others regarded industrial training as equally necessary, but with many the sole object was to impart an education such as was given to English children in English schools.

The farmers were still in the habit of employing private tutors, who were usually men of little learning and of intemperate habits, so that their office was held in small esteem.

There were several excellent private schools for both sexes in various parts of the colony, and in Capetown there was an educational institution of a high class, founded at the beginning of the century by a branch of the society *Tot nut van't algemeen.* There were also a few memorial schools under various names in different parts of the colony.

The South African college in Capetown was in receipt of £200 a year from the treasury. The college classes met

still in the orphan house, but the governor had already promised to make a grant to the directors of part of the great garden in Table Valley for the purpose of erecting a suitable building. In 1839 this promise was carried out, when the ground on which the last government slave lodge was standing and part of that where wild animals were once kept was transferred to the college. A sum of over £3,000 was on hand from the old Latin school fund, and could be used for building purposes. The government lent the directors other £2,000 from the prize negro fund,* for which, however, four per cent yearly interest was to be paid. By these means a commencement was made with the building now in use, into which the classes were moved in 1841.

Before 1839 about £2,000 a year was expended from the colonial treasury in aid of schools.

The eminent astronomer Sir John Herschel was residing at Feldhausen—now called the Grove—in the present village of Claremont, where an obelisk marks the position of his twenty-feet reflecting telescope. As he was known to take a very warm interest in matters relating to education, Sir George Napier asked for his opinion upon a system suitable to the circumstances of the country. In reply, on the 17th of February 1838 he furnished a memorandum on the subject, and as the principles which he advocated were afterwards acted upon, the system was called by his name. But to Mr. John Fairbairn, editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, as much credit is due as to either Sir George Napier or Sir John Herschel for the improvement which at this time was made in the public school system. His articles upon the subject were frequent, written in an excellent style, and attracted general attention. On the 19th of February 1838 he addressed the governor upon the matter in a letter which Sir George Napier regarded as of almost equal value with Sir John Herschel's memorandum.

* A sum of money raised many years before by a tax on the employers of negro apprentices for the purpose of providing for their maintenance when old and infirm.

The secretary of state having approved of the new system, it was put into working order as speedily as possible. The bible and school commission was replaced by a superintendent-general, whose whole time was devoted to control and inspection. Two classes of schools were established in the chief centres of European population throughout the colony. Those of the elementary class were provided with as competent teachers as could be obtained, whose salaries were fixed at £100 a year from the government, with a free house or an allowance of £30 for rent. Local boards, elected by contributors to the funds and approved by the governor, were expected to provide proper schoolrooms and furniture, and might supplement the teachers' salaries. These schools were open without charge to every child of good behaviour in the community. Religious instruction was given from the bible at a stated hour, but no child whose parents objected was required to attend at that time, and it was free to any clergyman to catechise the children of his congregation in a room by themselves. The Dutch language was used as the medium of instruction where parents desired it.

Above these in the principal villages were classical schools, provided with teachers of higher standing, most of them graduates of Scotch universities. The salaries were £150 a year, with free house or £30 allowance for rent, and fees, which were not to exceed £4 a year from each pupil. The governor had the right to nominate a limited number of free scholars. The same rules were to be observed as in the elementary schools regarding religious teaching, but the medium of instruction was to be the English language exclusively.

A normal seminary was established in Capetown to train teachers for the elementary schools, but to take charge of those of the higher class it was necessary to procure men from Europe.

On the 11th of May 1839 Mr. James Rose Innes, once teacher at Uitenhage, and recently professor of mathematics

in the South African college, was appointed superintendent-general of education, with a salary of £500 a year and travelling expenses when on tours of inspection.

In March 1838 Sir John Herschel returned to Europe. At the governor's request he selected five Scotch teachers —Messrs. Francis Tudhope, John Gibson, Humphrey M'Lachlan, Thomas Paterson, and Thomas Buchanan— who were sent out by Lord John Russell, and arrived in July 1840. The last-mentioned took charge of the normal school in Capetown, the others were stationed in the order of their names at Grahamstown, Uitenhage, Stellenbosch, and George.

After visiting the schools throughout the colony and putting them in as good order as possible, in May 1840 Mr. Innes proceeded to Great Britain to observe the latest methods of education and to procure more teachers. The degree of doctor of laws was conferred upon him by the university of Aberdeen; and in March 1841 he reached the colony again, bringing with him Messrs. John Paterson, John M'Naughton, Patrick Black, George Bremner, and Joseph Reid, who were stationed at Port Elizabeth, Wynberg, Worcester, Paarl, and Somerset East. Mr. George Cromar, another teacher engaged by Dr. Innes, followed shortly afterwards, and was stationed at George, Mr. Thomas Paterson being transferred to Graaff-Reinet.

The finances of the colony would not allow of the establishment of a larger number of high schools at this time, but as the revenue improved they were increased. In 1850 the amount expended on education from the colonial treasury was £7,923.

There was a sum of £5,906 18s. 4d. unclaimed as compensation for slaves, those who were entitled to receive it from the imperial treasury declining to apply for it on the ground that by doing so they would admit the justice of the treatment to which they had been subjected. With the sanction of the secretary of state, this money was now transferred to a committee consisting of the secretary to government,

the collector of customs, and the superintendent-general of education, who were required to invest it, and to use the interest to assist in the education of children of emancipated slaves.

An attempt to wreck the public schools was made in some places by a few individuals to whom it cannot be considered harsh to apply the word fanatical. They desired to force all kinds of coloured children upon the teachers, which could only result in the exclusion of respectable European pupils. No man with any regard for the morals of his offspring could allow them to associate with children of the vagrant class, whose ordinary environment was mental and physical filth.

Two distinct lines of thought were in collision over this question. One was represented by those missionaries of the London society who were in the habit on festival days of getting white and coloured children to march in procession hand-in-hand, with banners bearing their favourite motto: *ex uno sanguine.* The other was represented by the practical colonial farmers, who did not dispute the theory of one blood, but who accounted it folly to train pointers as they would mastiffs, and held that there was at least as much difference between the extreme races of men as between the different breeds of dogs.

Dr. Innes was called upon to decide between these conflicting opinions. To him it seemed as if the question was not whether the coloured children were to be educated, but whether white children were to be driven from the public schools. There was ample provision made by the mission societies and by the government for the requirements of one class, why then should the other be forced to forego advantages or to conform to ideas rightly or wrongly regarded as revolting? The words white and coloured could not be used in the school regulations, as public opinion in England would not tolerate it. The terms decently clothed and of good deportment, however, could offend only a few persons, and by means of them and a judicious exercise of

tact and conciliation on the part of Dr. Innes the same end was attained, and the usefulness of the schools was preserved.

In Sir George Napier's commission great changes were made in the constitution of the legislative council. Thenceforward the unofficial members were to hold their seats during the pleasure of the queen, not as previously for life; and there was to be no debate upon any subject unless the governor proposed it. The attorney-general was of opinion that by these changes the old council was abolished, and the governor therefore reappointed the unofficial members. These gentlemen, though consenting to retain their seats under the new conditions, at once forwarded to Lord Glenelg a protest against the restriction of their liberties. On the 8th of August the secretary of state replied that the changes had been made in mistake, and issued fresh orders restoring the former constitution of the council, except that the unofficial members were to hold their seats only during the queen's pleasure. As the military officer next in rank to the governor held also the appointment of lieutenant-governor and resided in Grahamstown, which made his attendance impossible, on the 26th of June 1840 Lord John Russell directed that the collector of customs should be a member of both the legislative and executive councils.

Of the members of the legislative council on its formation in 1834, only three remained ten years later.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, secretary to government, obtained leave of absence to visit Europe, and embarked on the 10th of June 1841. Upon his arrival in England he received military promotion, and therefore he did not return. When he left the colony, Mr. John Moore Craig, the governor's private secretary, was directed to act as secretary to government. Sir George Napier requested the secretary of state to appoint Mr. Craig permanently, but as he was a near connection of the governor by marriage, Lord Stanley did not think it advisable to do so, and gave the situation to Mr. John Montagu, previously secretary to government in

Van Diemen's Land, who arrived and took over the duty on the 23rd of April 1843.

Mr. Joachim Willem Stoll, treasurer-general, died soon after the creation of the council. Mr. William Henry Harvey, an eminent botanist and later author of three volumes of the *Flora Capensis*, was appointed to the vacant office by the secretary of state. He arrived on the 18th of October 1836, and took over the duty. On the 7th of December 1841 he embarked for Europe suffering from aberration of mind, and as his malady increased, he was obliged to retire. Mr. Harry Rivers, previously civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Swellendam, who was directed to act as treasurer-general when Mr. Harvey went home, received the permanent appointment.

Mr. Anthony Oliphant, the attorney-general, having been promoted to the office of chief justice of Ceylon, left the Cape on the 16th of March 1839, and Advocate William Musgrave acted for the next six months. On the 16th of September Mr. William Porter, who was appointed by the secretary of state, arrived and took over the duty. Advocate Musgrave returned to his practice, but upon the retirement of Mr. Justice Kekewich on the 12th of October 1843, he became second puisne judge.

Of the unofficial members of the legislative council, Messrs. Pieter Laurens Cloete, Charles Stuart Pillans, and Jacobus Johannes du Toit had retired, and were succeeded by Messrs. Henry Cloete, Hamilton Ross, and Advocate Henry Cloete.

The legislative council in 1844 thus consisted of the governor, as president, Messrs. John Montagu, Harry Rivers, Pieter Gerhard Brink, William Porter, and William Field, official members, and Messrs. John Bardwell Ebden, Michiel van Breda, Henry Cloete, Hamilton Ross, and Advocate Henry Cloete.

This period is marked by a considerable increase in the number of churches throughout the colony. It was the custom for the government to appoint a clergyman and pay his salary when the people who were to form a new

congregation built a place of worship and a parsonage. Several young colonists who had pursued their studies for the ministry in Europe returned at this time, and there was no longer a difficulty in filling the pulpits. The ordinary manner of proceeding was for a committee to purchase a farm in a suitable place, to lay out a village upon it, and with subscriptions and the proceeds of the sales of building allotments to pay for the farm and erect the church and parsonage.

The village of Riebeek East was founded in 1840. Ten years earlier the Dutch-speaking people in the district of Albany, being desirous of having a church of their own, sent a petition to the government, with the result that Captain Campbell, the civil commissioner, was instructed to select elders and deacons. This was in accordance with the twenty-third article of Mr. De Mist's church regulations, which provided that when a new congregation was established, the landdrost of the district should nominate the first consistory for the governor's approval. The clergy claimed the nomination as a right of the presbyteries, and though this was not conceded by the government, the landdrosts always chose the persons recommended by those bodies. The elders and deacons thus appointed were installed in January 1831 by the reverend Alexander Smith, of Uitenhage, and from that date the congregation existed distinct from others. On the 22nd of April in the same year the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet approved of what had been done, and elected as consulent the reverend George Morgan, of Somerset East. The first resident clergyman was the reverend John Pears, who commenced duty on the 2nd of April 1839. There was as yet no church building or parsonage, but in April 1840 the consistory purchased the farm Mooimeisjesfontein, which had once belonged to Mr. Pieter Retief, with the object of laying out a village upon it and building a church. In January 1842 the reverend Dr. Roux succeeded Mr. Pears as minister, and by his wish the name Mooimeisjesfontein was changed to Riebeek East.

The village of Piketberg also was founded in 1840. On the 1st of April 1832 the people of that part of the country sent a petition to the presbytery of the Cape asking that they might be formed into a congregation separate from Tulbagh and Clanwilliam. The presbytery recommended the request to government, and leave was given to take the preliminary steps. On the 18th of August, therefore, a meeting was held on the farm of Mr. J. Basson, when a committee was appointed to carry out the design. In the following year the committee was superseded by properly appointed elders and deacons, who commenced their duties about the 17th of October 1833. In the records the exact date is not given. On the 31st of December 1835 the government granted to the consistory the farm Grootfontein, two thousand two hundred and twenty-four morgen in extent, upon which to build a place of worship. There, after 1840, a village gradually grew up, which was named after the adjacent mountain. At the close of 1839 or beginning of 1840 the reverend Dr. John W. L. Scholtz became the first resident clergyman of Piketberg, but his salary was not paid from the public treasury until the 1st of March 1843.

In a similar manner the village of Riversdale was founded. The people of that part of the colony, being desirous of having a church in their midst, elected a committee to whom on the 24th of July 1838 a portion of the estate Doornkraal—afterwards increased to eight hundred and forty-eight morgen—was transferred by the farmer from whom it had been purchased. Building sites for a village were then surveyed and sold. On the 7th of March 1839 the presbytery of Swellendam commissioned some of its members to choose elders and deacons, and to inspect suitable boundaries for the new parish. The names of the elders and deacons having been submitted to the governor by the civil commissioner, they were formally approved of on the 27th of April, and in June they were installed and the new congregation was established. The reverend Hubertus Adriaan Moorrees, who commenced his duties on

the 19th of May 1839, was the first clergyman of this parish. At the request of the committee by whom the preliminary steps were taken, the name Riversdale was given to the village by government notice on the 30th of August 1838, in honour of Mr. Harry Rivers, the civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Swellendam, in which district the new parish was situated.

The people of the southern part of the district of Swellendam were also desirous of having a church of their own, but were divided in opinion as to where it should be. Two committees were consequently elected, one of which purchased the farm Langefontein and the other the farm Klipdrift. Each resolved to form a village and build a church. In 1838 their applications came before the presbytery of Swellendam, but were rejected on the ground that there were parts of the colony in much greater need and the number of clergymen was limited. The members of the Langefontein committee, however, were not disheartened. In May 1838 the first building sites of their village were sold, and they obtained the interest of the governor by requesting him to give it a name. He called it Bredasdorp, in honour of Mr. Michiel van Breda, member of the legislative council. The result was that a salary for a clergyman at Bredasdorp was voted at the next session of the council, and the presbytery of Swellendam then reversed its decision and took the necessary steps to establish the new congregation. The first clergyman was the reverend Johannes Jacobus Brink, who was inducted on the 27th of May 1839. On the same day the first elders and deacons—who had been approved by the governor on the 27th of April—commenced their duties.

The other committee also built a church and formed a village, the first erven of which were sold on the 4th of June 1838. They requested the governor to give his own name to the place, and on the 5th of March 1840 Klipdrift was changed into Napier by notice in the *Gazette*. But it was a long time before a separate church was established

there. An arrangement was made by which the clergyman of Bredasdorp held service occasionally at Napier, and on the 20th of February 1848 elders and deacons were installed. The first resident minister—the reverend Arnoldus G. M. Kuys—commenced duty on the 1st of September 1852.

In 1837 the people of Waggonmakers' Valley and the Groenberg decided to have a church nearer than the Paarl, and elected a committee to take action in the matter. Of this committee Mr. Richard Addey, a justice of the peace, was chairman. In the following year ground was purchased, and erven were sold as soon as surveyed. In 1839 a church building was erected. The committee thought to secure the governor's interest by requesting him to name the village after himself, but their letter arrived a little too late. They then requested that it might be named Blencowe, in honour of Lady Napier's father, Mr. Robert Blencowe, of Hayes, in Middlesex. This, however, the governor and his lady for some unassigned cause declined to assent to. Baffled again, the committee desired the governor to confer upon it any name that he chose, and on the 26th of March 1840 by a notice in the *Gazette* he called it Wellington. At the same time the committee requested that they might have as their minister the reverend Andries François du Toit, a young clergyman on the way out from his studies in Holland. The governor complied, and on the 19th of June 1840 Mr. Du Toit was appointed first clergyman of Wellington. In April of the same year the presbytery of the Cape confirmed what had been done, and commissioned some of its members to select elders and deacons and to define boundaries for the new parish. The elders and deacons chosen were nominated by the civil commissioner, on the 22nd of June were appointed by the governor, and entered into office on the 26th of July 1840, after which the duties of the committee ceased.

In 1841 the people of the Zwartberg desired the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet to form them into a congregation separate from that of Beaufort West, of which they had previously been part. The consistory of Beaufort supported their

request, and the presbytery appointed a commission to inspect a boundary for the proposed parish, but deferred further proceedings until the consent of the governor could be obtained. The leading men in the movement then elected a committee, who purchased the farm Kweekvallei, caused a village to be laid out upon it, and commenced to build a church and a parsonage. In 1842 the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet did not hold a session, but on the 1st of November in that year the synod met in Capetown, and after a few days the action of the Zwartberg people was brought before it. The synod approved of what had been done, named elders and deacons, who were appointed in the usual manner by the governor on the 24th of the same month, and thus the new congregation was established. On the 1st of August 1844 the reverend Pieter Kuypers Albertyn became its first clergyman. By a notice in the *Gazette* on the 31st of July 1845, the name Prince Albert was given to the village at the request of the consistory.

In 1843 the congregation of Tulbagh was divided into two. Upon the death of the reverend Mr. Kicherer on the 1st of April 1825, Dr. George Thom, previously of Caledon, was removed to Tulbagh. Unfortunately this able and zealous man a few years later became subject to periodical fits of insanity, and in course of time, as the malady increased, it became necessary to remove him to an asylum. On the 1st of November 1835 the reverend Robert Shand was inducted as his successor. In his first sermon the new minister made use of remarks by which many members of the congregation considered themselves insulted, and his declaration that he would not baptize children unless their parents were converted gave rise to much discussion. It was an old subject of dispute in the Dutch reformed church. The division between the minister and the congregation widened rapidly, and on the 12th of March 1836 Mr. Shand was suspended from duty by the governor at the request of the presbytery. The reverend Hubertus Adriaan Moorrees was then appointed to act temporarily as clergyman of

Tulbagh, and the case was referred to the synod. In October 1837, as Mr. Shand promised to conform to established usages, his restoration was recommended by the synod, and, by order of the secretary of state, on the 14th of December 1838 he resumed duty at Tulbagh. Petitions for his removal were sent to England in vain. About half the congregation then resolved to secede, and on the 21st of January 1843 at a public meeting carried their decision into effect. They then established what is still known as the Kruisvallei congregation, which is identical with the Dutch reformed church in doctrine and forms of service, but is not represented in the synod. The reverend H. A. Moorrees became its first minister, commencing duty on the 6th of August 1843. No aid was given by the government to the new congregation.

The restraints imposed by the civil authorities upon all matters connected with the church, and especially the great power of the political commissioners in the synod,* where no resolutions could be adopted without their approval, led to urgent appeals to the government by the clergy and congregations for greater liberty of action. Sir George Napier expressed himself as "most anxious to free the church from the trammels of secular interference in all spiritual or purely ecclesiastical matters," and accordingly in November 1842 a number of rules and regulations were drawn up by the synod, which were attached to an ordinance passed by the legislative council and confirmed on the 8th of November 1843.

This ordinance repealed Mr. De Mist's regulations of the 25th of July 1804, as well as all other previous laws affecting the relation of the church to the state, and invested the general assembly or synod of the Dutch reformed communion with the power of regulating its own internal affairs. The synod was to consist of all acting ministers and of an acting or retired elder elected by each consistory except that of

* In 1826 the country consistories were permitted to transact their business without the supervision of political commissioners, and in 1828 the same liberty was conferred upon the consistory of Capetown.

Capetown, which was entitled to elect two elders. The synod was to assemble in Capetown every fifth year on the second Tuesday in October. It was further constituted the highest court of appeal in the church.

Next to it in order came the presbyteries, which were to assemble yearly on the second Tuesday in October, except when the synod met. They were then five in number, namely, the presbytery of Capetown, consisting of the clergymen and an elder of each of the congregations of Capetown, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Somerset West, Durbanville, and Wynberg; the presbytery of Tulbagh, representing in the same manner the congregations of Tulbagh, Malmesbury, Worcester, Clanwilliam, Piketberg, and Wellington; the presbytery of Swellendam, representing the congregations of Swellendam, Caledon, George, Bredasdorp, and Riversdale; the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet, representing the congregations of Graaff-Reinet, Cradock, Beaufort West, Somerset East, Colesberg, and Prince Albert; and the presbytery of Albany, representing the congregations of Uitenhage, Riebeek East, Glen Lynden, and Balfour

Below the presbyteries were the consistories, consisting of the elders and deacons of each congregation, with the clergymen—where there was one—as president. The elders and deacons were still named by their predecessors in office. In 1837 the synod decided that all who had performed these duties at any time should have the right of taking part in the elections, and after that date only the names of as many deacons as were required were submitted to the governor for approval, instead of as previously a double list of names from which he could make a selection.* The ordinance now dispensed altogether with the governor's approval of the choice of elders and deacons.

*Under Mr. De Mist's church regulations it was not necessary to send a double list of names to the governor for selection, but most of the congregations had followed the ancient custom of doing so. This refers to deacons only. The governor had the power of disapproving of the elders chosen, but from the earliest days of the colony except in a few particular instances only as many names of elders as were required were submitted to him for ratification or rejection.

To guard the interests of the church and to regulate matters when the general assembly was not in session, there was to be a synodical commission, consisting of the president of the last synod or his secundus, the scriba, the actuarius synodi, and one delegate elected yearly by each presbytery.

Political commissioners were dispensed with, and the civil government was relieved of the necessity of attending to matters affecting the church in its spiritual capacity only. There was much joy among the clergymen and the congregations over the change, which they believed gave them almost unlimited freedom of action. They were destined a few years later to learn that with clergymen appointed and paid by the state, and with the proceedings of the synod liable to be brought before the civil courts of law, they were in reality hardly more free now than they were before.

At the beginning of 1844 the English episcopal church had congregations with clergymen in Capetown, Rondebosch, Wynberg, Simonstown, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Bathurst, Fort Beaufort, and Sidbury. On the 10th of October 1841 a place of worship in connection with this body of Christians was opened for use on Robben Island, but was not provided with a resident clergyman.

The ministers of this church were under the superintendence of an ecclesiastical board, composed of the archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishop of London. By instructions from Earl Bathurst on the 24th of March 1826 they were required to correspond with this board, but General Bourke obliged them to send their letters and reports through the secretary to government, that he might see them. Succeeding governors enforced this rule, and were in the habit of forwarding to the ecclesiastical board in London returns of other churches as well as of the English episcopal. Instructions were issued on the 17th of July 1828 that the senior colonial chaplain should take upon himself a general supervision of ecclesiastical matters connected with the English episcopal church, and that the other clergymen

should send their reports to the government through him; but these instructions were not observed until after the 19th of February 1834, when by order of the secretary of state, who acted by the advice of the bishop of Calcutta, a circular was issued strictly enforcing them. At long intervals, bishops on their way to India called at Capetown and performed the duties which in this communion are entrusted to them alone.

The Roman catholic church in Capetown—the only one in the colony—had met with several reverses. The reverend Mr. Scully left South Africa on the 11th of July 1824, and the congregation was without a clergyman until the arrival of the reverend Theodore Wagener on the 30th of March 1826. On the 25th of May 1827 the reverend Thomas Rishton reached Capetown from Europe, and during the next five years the two clergymen conducted services. Mr. Wagener alone received a salary from government. Mr. Rishton was offered a salary if he would remove to Grahamstown, but he declined to entertain the proposal. On the 15th of May 1832 Mr. Wagener resigned in order to return to Europe, and his companion was then appointed by the governor Roman catholic clergyman of Capetown, with a stipend of £200 a year. In March 1835 Mr. Rishton's health so completely broke down that he was obliged to retire, and then for rather over three years there was no clergyman of this communion in South Africa except a Spanish monk—the reverend Thomas Moral—who in January 1836 happened to call in a homeward-bound ship from the Indies, and was induced to remain in Capetown for a few months.

The chapel in Harrington-street and the clergyman's dwelling-house were built partly by subscription, but chiefly by means of loans of money from the government bank. The ground on which they stood was transferred—7th of September 1821—to the reverend Mr. Scully personally, and after his departure from the colony was held by legally appointed curators of his private estate. The loans were never wholly repaid, and in a heavy storm of rain which

lasted from the 28th of June to the 7th of July 1837 the chapel fell down, after which the ruin was sold for the benefit of the creditors.

The Roman catholics in South Africa were thus for some time without either a clergyman or a place of worship. On the 6th of June 1837 Pope Gregory XVI created the vicariat apostolical of the Cape Colony, and on the 14th of April 1838 the right reverend Patrick Raymond Griffith with the reverend Messrs. Burke and Corcoran arrived in Capetown from Europe. Dr. Burke proceeded to Grahamstown, and took up his residence there. In that town, on the 21st of July 1844, the first Roman catholic place of worship in the colony that was destined to exist permanently was opened for public service. Mr. Corcoran remained in Capetown, and the bishop made his headquarters there also, though he spent much time in travelling and establishing congregations elsewhere, which were speedily supplied with clergymen who arrived from Europe.

The extension of other Christian societies has been mentioned in connection with the introduction of the new system of schools.

The money received from the imperial government as part compensation for the freedom of the slaves rapidly found its way into the hands of a small number of people, chiefly in Capetown, who saw no chance of investing it profitably in agricultural pursuits. To this circumstance is owing the formation of many of the joint stock companies which were established at this time. Chief among these were the Cape of Good Hope fire assurance company, with a capital of £20,000 in four hundred shares, which commenced business in Capetown on the 1st of December 1835; the Board of Executors for administering estates, with a capital of £10,000 in fifty shares, which commenced business in Capetown on the 22nd of August 1838; the Cape of Good Hope marine assurance company, with a capital of £75,000 in fifteen hundred shares, which commenced business in Capetown on the 30th of August 1838; the Protecteur fire and life assurance

company, with a capital of £40,000 in two thousand shares, which commenced business in Capetown on the 29th of September 1838; the South African bank, with a capital of £100,000 in two thousand shares, which commenced business in Capetown on the 1st of October 1838; the Eastern Province bank, with a capital of £40,000 in sixteen hundred shares, which commenced business in Grahamstown on the 1st of January 1839; and the Eastern Province fire and life assurance company, with a capital of £20,000 in four hundred shares, which commenced business in Grahamstown on the 2nd of September 1839.

An association termed the Cape of Good Hope steam navigation company got out from England a small vessel for coasting purposes. She was named the *Hope*, and was of three hundred tons burden, with two engines of fifty horse power each. On the 8th of December 1838 she arrived in Table Bay, and thereafter plied regularly between Capetown and Port Elizabeth. She was bound to Algoa Bay with seventy-two souls on board, including the crew, and was seventy-six hours out, when at half past two o'clock in the afternoon of the 11th of March 1840 in a thick mist she ran on a ridge of rocks about two hundred yards from the shore ten miles west of Cape St. Francis, while the captain thought he was twenty-five miles from land. Among her passengers were Advocates Ebden and Denyssen, who afterwards became judges of the supreme court, Advocate William Hiddingh, whose valuable donations to the South African public library entitle him to the gratitude of all colonists, and Mr. John Owen Smith, one of the leading merchants of Port Elizabeth. An attempt was made to lighten and float the vessel by staving in the heads of a number of brandy casks, but this only created another danger, for the spirits caught fire, and it was some time before the flames could be got under. There were only two small boats, and one of these got so damaged that it was useless. By half past seven in the evening a raft was made, and the women, children, most of the male passengers, and some of the crew

—forty-one souls in all—embarked on it. The mist had by this time cleared away, and it was seen that the coast was rocky and that a heavy surf was breaking upon it. It was feared, however, that the wreck would break up, so the raft was taken in tow by the sole remaining boat, and fortunately all on it got to land alive, though many were bruised and most were half naked. The boat was stove in against the rocks, but it was found possible next morning to repair it sufficiently to rescue the people still on the wreck. This was hardly accomplished when the *Hope* went to pieces.

After this disaster, the company got out a steamer of four hundred and five tons, named the *Phœnix*, which arrived in Table Bay on the 19th of December 1842. This vessel was regarded as a superb specimen of naval architecture, and when she made the passage from Algoa Bay to Table Bay in forty-seven hours without hoisting a sail, it was considered almost marvellous.

In Capetown several prominent public buildings were erected while Sir George Napier was governor. The old Dutch reformed church was too small for the needs of the people, so the side walls were broken down in order that it might be enlarged. The Lutherans gave the congregation the use of their church in Strand-street from the 31st of August 1835 to the 31st of January 1841, when the present building between Church-square and Adderley-street was opened for public worship. The new structure cost £20,000. The monuments and memorial tablets which linked the old building to the past, and which should have been respected, were not replaced in the new. The Roman catholic cathedral, on the upper side of Roeland-street, was commenced, and the large military hospital, on the beach between the castle and Fort Knokke, was built at this time. A magnetic observatory was established by the imperial government, and was attached to the astronomical observatory a short distance from Capetown.

On the 23rd of January 1839 an ordinance was issued creating four new magisterial districts: Wynberg, Malmesbury,

Paarl, and Caledon. Under the emancipation act, in 1834 the same areas were provided with special magistrates, whose duties were confined to looking after the interests of the apprentices. When the apprenticeship ceased on the 1st of December 1838, the governor considered it advisable to retain the services of the special magistrates of these four areas, which he thought should be created magisterial districts for all purposes. The legislative council concurred in this opinion, and an ordinance was passed, which was confirmed by the secretary of state. Major George Longmore then became resident magistrate of Wynberg, Major Henry Piers resident magistrate of Paarl, Captain John Montgomery Hill resident magistrate of Malmesbury, and Major James Barnes resident magistrate of Caledon.

On the 5th of February 1839 a proclamation was issued by Sir George Napier, requiring the word district to be used officially to designate the area under the jurisdiction of a resident magistrate, and the word division to designate the area under the administration of a civil commissioner.

An institution which was in existence from the early days of the colony was swept away by an order in council on the 7th of September 1839, which provided that when banns of marriage were published in churches, the bridegroom and bride need not obtain a certificate from a matrimonial court that there were no legitimate obstacles to the union.

In 1841 the villages of Villiersdorp and Schoemansdorp were founded. At the first named a church was built by a wealthy farmer named De Villiers, in which services could be held occasionally, though there was no resident clergyman.

On the 4th of April 1843 the famous exploring ships *Erebus* and *Terror*, under command of Captains J. C. Ross and F. R. M. Crozier, from the Antarctic seas, put into Simon's Bay, and during their stay in that port were naturally objects of much interest.

The year 1842 was more disastrous to shipping than any since the British occupation of the colony.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 7th of August the Spanish ship *Sabina*, of five hundred tons burden, bound from Manilla to Cadiz, struck on Cape Recife, and quickly went to pieces. The ship was leaky, and her master was trying to reach Algoa Bay, but at the moment of the disaster believed himself to be several miles from land. Forty-five men were saved, twenty were drowned or crushed to death in the wreckage.

On Saturday the 27th of August 1842 a gale from the northwest set into Table Bay. During the night it increased in violence, and just before dawn on Sunday the transport *Abercrombie Robinson* parted her cables. She was a strong well-built ship, of fourteen hundred and fifteen tons burden, and only arrived from Dublin Bay on the 25th with a battalion of the 91st regiment. The troops were still on board, as it was intended that the transport should proceed with them to Algoa Bay. The ship struck near the mouth of Salt River, and filled with water at once, but she held together, and the discipline of the soldiers and sailors was so perfect that there was not the slightest confusion or disorder. To this it was owing that not a single life was lost, for in the course of the morning every one got to land in safety.

At eleven o'clock on Sunday morning the convict ship *Waterloo* parted. She had put into Table Bay for refreshments on the 24th, and was bound to Van Diemen's Land. The *Waterloo* struck close to the wreck of the *Abercrombie Robinson*, but being old and rotten, fell into fragments in less than half an hour. A few persons were got ashore in boats, but there was not time to save many. When the ship broke up, all on board were precipitated into the heavy surf, amidst fragments of wreckage. Altogether ninety persons got to land alive, some very sorely bruised. Four women, thirteen children, and fifteen men belonging to the guard of the 99th regiment which was on board, fourteen of the crew, and one hundred and forty-three convicts lost their lives.

In this gale some other vessels drifted, and were damaged by coming into collision, but only the two here mentioned were wrecked.

On the 9th of September another gale from the north-west set into Table Bay, when the British barque *John Bagshaw*, the American barque *Fairfield*, the British brigs *Reform* and *Henry Hoyle*, and the coasting schooner *Ghika* were driven on shore. No lives were lost on this occasion, and eighteen vessels rode out the storm at their anchors.

In 1843 a system of constructing public roads was commenced, which has been of enormous benefit to the colony. Previous to that date convict labour was employed in making roads, but without proper supervision, and the parties were too small and too scattered to be of much service. Major Michell, the surveyor-general, first conceived the design of massing convicts upon difficult mountain passes. In May 1839 he was in England, and with Sir George Napier's concurrence urged the secretary of state to permit the construction by this means of good roads over Cradock's pass, in the range of mountains bounding the coast belt near the village of George, and up Mosterd's hoek, connecting the valley of the Breede river with the Warm Bokkeveld. But as at the same time he was urging the construction of lighthouses on the capes Recife, Agulhas, and Good Hope, the secretary of state came to regard him as an enthusiast bent upon squandering money, and declined to sanction his projects.

Shortly after Mr. John Montagu's arrival as secretary to government, he turned his attention to this subject, and drew up a plan which received the approval of the governor, the legislative council, and the secretary of state. It provided for the creation of a central board of commissioners of public roads, to consist of three official and three unofficial members, to be appointed by the governor. This board was to have power to levy rates not exceeding a penny in the pound of the value of landed property, it was to have the right of making use of any public lands required for

main roads, it was to have control of such convict labour as the governor should see fit to transfer to it, it was to have the proceeds of tolls and ferries, and was to employ upon roadmaking such grants of money as the legislative council might make. Divisional boards, subordinate to the central board, and composed of the civil commissioner and four members elected triennially by owners of landed property worth one hundred pounds, were to have power to levy rates for the construction and maintenance of branch roads.

An ordinance to this effect was issued on the 22nd of November 1843, and on the following day Messrs. John Montagu, Harry Rivers, Charles Cornwallis Michell, John Bardwell Ebden, Frederick Stephanus Watermeyer, and Joseph Busk were appointed commissioners of the central board. The divisional boards came into existence shortly afterwards.

All able-bodied convicts, except those sentenced to very short terms of imprisonment, were now massed at two stations, one convenient of access from the eastern districts, the other similarly situated as regards the west. At these stations proper discipline could be enforced, and the best means be carried out for improving the moral and physical condition of the convicts. The cost to the country of each convict was found to be less under this system than under the old, and their labour was of much greater value.

A large amount of free labour was also employed by the board, as liberal grants were made in course of time from the public treasury. The first works taken in hand were the construction of a good road over Cradock's pass, and of a hard road over the rolling waste of sand called the Cape flats. This necessitated the planting of the flats with the mesembryanthemum, which fixed the sand, and enabled trees and shrubs afterwards to grow.

It had now come to be a fixed principle with the imperial authorities to limit the term of administration of governors of colonies to six years, unless under special circumstances.

Sir George Napier was anxious to retire, and on the 19th of December 1843 a commission was issued to Sir Peregrine Maitland as his successor.

The new governor arrived with his wife, three sons, and three daughters, in the ship *Zenobia* on the 16th of March 1844, and on the 18th took the oaths of office.

On the 1st of April 1844 Sir George Napier and his family embarked in the *Maidstone*, and sailed for England. In retiring from the Cape Colony, the late governor retired altogether from public life. He died suddenly at Geneva on the 8th of September 1855, when he was a few weeks over seventy-one years of age.

While he was governor three men who had previously held the same office ended their days. On the 8th of April 1839 the earl of Caledon died suddenly at his residence Caledon Hall, in the county of Tyrone. He was then in the sixty-second year of his age. On the 4th of October 1842 Sir Lowry Cole died after only an hour's illness at Highfield Park. Very much sadder was the ending of Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin. A long and cruel illness was attended by great mental depression, and on the 1st of May 1841 during temporary insanity he committed suicide at Southampton.

CHAPTER XXVI.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 18TH MARCH 1844; SUPERSEDED 27TH JANUARY 1847.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND, like his predecessor, was an officer of high reputation. He entered the army in 1792, served in Flanders, was at Coruña and many other battles in the Spanish peninsula, and commanded a brigade at Waterloo. For distinguished valour during that famous battle he received the thanks of the house of commons. Recently he had been commander-in-chief in Madras, but resigned that appointment rather than show respect to an idolatrous custom believed by the East India Company to be necessary to secure the loyalty of the natives.

He had some experience in civil business also, having been lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada and afterwards of Nova Scotia.

Though a thoroughly honest, upright, and deeply religious man, his virtues were not evenly balanced, and the very excess of some prevented him from being a good ruler. His benevolence was so great that he overlooked the failings of subordinates who should have been dealt with more severely than by a reprimand. His patience would have been creditable to an investigator such as Newton or Darwin, but was often the cause of needless delay in the transaction of business that required to be dealt with promptly. He placed little confidence in his own judgment, and allowed himself to be guided by others even in matters of the first importance. As long as there were only the ordinary duties of administration to be attended to this was of little

consequence, because the secretary to government — Mr. Montagu—and the attorney-general—Mr. Porter,—the men whose advice he followed, were possessed of great ability and integrity. But when troublous times came on, and these officials were not at his side, he made many mistakes.

When he arrived in South Africa he was in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His second wife, who accompanied him, was a daughter of the duke of Richmond. Two of his sons, the reverend Brownlow Maitland and Captain Charles Lennox Maitland, of the grenadier guards, acted as his private and military secretaries.

He found the public debt of the colony very nearly paid off, important public works being carried out, and the revenue in excess of the ordinary expenditure. The prospect was altogether pleasant, except on the eastern frontier.

At the beginning of his government a considerable sum of money came into the public treasury from an unexpected source.

In 1828 an American schooner named the *Antarctic* was engaged collecting seal skins and oil on the western coast. Her master, Benjamin Morrell by name, in 1832 published an account of this voyage and three others, and incidentally mentioned that on a certain island there was a deposit of guano twenty-five feet in depth. The book had a very small circulation, and the value of guano being then unknown either in the United States or in Europe, the remark attracted no notice; but in 1842 a copy happened to come into the hands of one Andrew Livingston, who communicated the information to Mr. John Rae, a broker in Liverpool. Rae's son induced several persons to form a company with a small capital, and three vessels were sent out to look for the island.

One of these vessels met with an accident, and put back; another, after reaching the African coast and finding no fresh water, sailed away without further search. The third, a brig named the *Ann*, of Bristol, arrived in Table Bay on the 15th of February 1843, where her master, Captain Parr,

learned from the crew of an American whaler the exact position of the island.

The *Ann* then sailed from Table Bay, and reached without difficulty an islet to which the Hottentots on the mainland a mile and a half distant had given a name resembling Itshabo. That being as near an approach to the sound of the word as the European tongue was capable of making, the rock has ever since retained the name, which is usually written Ichaboe by Englishmen. There the brig took in three-fourths of a cargo of guano, when in a gale she parted her cables, so she bore away for England, and reached Bristol in safety. Litigation followed, and the existence and position of the guano deposit became known to the public.

Before this date the islands off the coast of Peru were the sole sources of supply of this valuable manure, which had recently been introduced into Europe, and was then worth £9 5*s.* a ton in the English market. A firm in Glasgow and another in Liverpool at once sent out a number of vessels, most of which reached the African coast before the close of 1843. The first to arrive was the barque *Douglas*, whose master, Benjamin Wade, on the 11th of November took possession of Ichaboe for the queen of England.

The islet is a rock less than a mile in circumference, the highest point of which is only thirty feet above the level of the sea. It was found covered with myriads of penguins and other seabirds, and had upon it a deposit of guano varying from forty feet in depth at the northern to ten feet at the southern end. Large deposits were also found on other islets in the neighbourhood, but on none was the bulk so great as on Ichaboe.

Shipping stages were erected, and the fleet was laden. The speculation proved so successful that many people embarked in the enterprise, and before the close of 1844 three hundred vessels were lying at once in the channel between the islet and the mainland. By February 1845

the whole deposit was removed. During the busiest period, when some thousands of labourers were engaged on shore, there was a tendency on the part of the unruly to create disturbances; but a frigate was sent from Simon's Bay to support a committee of shipmasters and agents in enforcing order.

The quantity of guano that entered the English market from these islands during 1844 and 1845 was about three hundred thousand tons, which, being sold at an average price of £7 a ton, was equal in value to £2,100,000. The importers cleared about £2 a ton, freight being £4 and the cost of shipping and landing about £1. Only a few shiploads were taken to foreign countries. The guano did not contain as large a proportion of ammoniacal salts as that from Peru, and was consequently of less value.

The only benefit the Cape Colony derived from the original mass on the islands off the coast of Namaqualand was through the sale of provisions, but after the rocks were cleared the business fell into the hands of merchants of Capetown, who caused the fresh deposits to be removed whenever the birds were not breeding.

Except by the unauthorised act of Captain Wade already mentioned, Ichaboe was not annexed to the British dominions until the 21st of June 1861, when it was taken in possession for the crown of England by authority of the government. In the same manner, on the 5th of May 1866 the islets named Holland's Bird, Mercury, Long Island, Seal Island, Penguin Island, Halifax, Possession, Albatross Rock, Pomona, Plumpudding, and Roastbeef or Sinclair's Island were declared to be part of the British dominions. On the 16th of July 1866 Governor Sir Philip Wodehouse proclaimed them all annexed to the Cape Colony. This proclamation was confirmed by an act of the colonial legislature, which was assented to on behalf of the queen on the 26th of June 1873. After that date the islets were leased to individuals by auction, the rental going to the treasury until quite recently, when the government took

the collection and sale of the guano into its own hands in order to supply it to colonial farmers at cost price.

While Ichaboe was a scene of the busiest industry a careful search was made along the coast, with the result that deposits of guano were found on Malagas Island at the entrance of Saldanha Bay, Dassen Island, and several other rocks in colonial waters. The government claimed the guano, and on the 5th of November 1844 a notice was issued that it could be removed on payment of twenty shillings for every registered ton of the vessel employed for the purpose. Applicants on these terms were plentiful, and a sum of about £50,000 was received by the treasury for it.

Another item that at a little later date swelled the receipts of the treasury by rather more than £10,000 was derived from the sale of several of the drostdy buildings. Mr. Montagu was of opinion that it would be cheaper to allow the resident magistrates a certain sum yearly for rent than to provide them with residences, as repairs and alterations were very frequently asked for. Some of the old drostdies had already been sold to aid the redemption of the public debt, but there still remained those of Stellenbosch, Swellendam, Clanwilliam, Graaff-Reinet, and Worcester. The last of these was retained by the government, those at Stellenbosch and Swellendam were disposed of on the 12th of April 1846, that at Clanwilliam on the 19th of December in the same year, and that at Graaff-Reinet on the 16th of January 1847.

The great improvement in the financial condition of the colony enabled the government to apply a considerable amount of money to the introduction of industrious European settlers. In June 1844 the council without a dissentient voice voted £10,000 for this purpose, with the understanding that a similar or larger sum should be so applied every succeeding year. At that time the road board was unable to obtain as many labourers as it needed, though offering two shillings a day with lodging and rations superior to those supplied to British soldiers.

It was at first intended that persons in the colony requiring mechanics or labourers of any kind should make application for them, stating the term of service, nature of the work, and amount of wages. If the proposal was approved of, bounty orders were to be issued by the government to the applicant, under which the persons needed could be brought from Great Britain at the public cost.

Only thirty-four individuals came out under this system, however, because in a few months it was altered by the imperial authorities. The emigration commissioners in England then contracted with Messrs. John Marshall & Co., of London and Southampton, to select and convey agricultural labourers, mechanics, and domestic servants to Capetown and Port Elizabeth, where they were to be at liberty to make any arrangements they chose after arrival. An approved vessel was to sail from Southampton or Plymouth every two months during the English autumn and winter seasons, and the contractors were to receive £10 8*s.* for each statute adult selected and sent out.

This plan was an improvement upon the other, as the demand for labour was so great that no industrious healthy person had any difficulty in obtaining employment, and the more enterprising among the immigrants were able at once to make much better arrangements for themselves than if they had come out under contract.

On the 27th of January 1846 the barque *Susan* arrived in Table Bay from Plymouth with the first party of immigrants under the amended system, and she was followed within the next five years by nineteen other ships conveying similar passengers. Altogether four thousand one hundred and eighty-five individuals of both sexes and all ages were added to the European population of the colony by this system of immigration. They were the very best class of people that could be introduced, and with hardly an exception were soon in thriving circumstances. They did not supply the want of labourers, because they rapidly rose to

the position of employers, but in a very few years the country benefited by their presence to an extent far beyond the amount expended for their introduction.

A party of ninety-three British immigrants also arrived at Port Elizabeth on the 23rd of January 1846 from Monte Video, having left that country on account of its disturbed condition at the time.

The legislative council now began to hold sessions at stated periods. Previously it met whenever the governor chose, upon a week's notice being given. On the 15th of May 1844 a rule was adopted, and was afterwards confirmed, that there should be a regular session every year commencing in the month of April, of which twenty-one days' notice was to be given in the *Government Gazette.*

This body was not regarded by the colonists as in any way representative of their views or interests. The council expired with the retirement of each governor, and was created anew by his successor's commission. The individuals composing it were, however, retained by name in the new commission, so that there was no absolute break of continuity. The unofficial members were practically powerless. On one occasion Sir George Napier, in his blunt contemptuous manner when annoyed, told Mr. Ebden that he might spare his breath in discussing a question, as matters of importance were settled before they were brought up there.

Upon the death or retirement of an unofficial member, the successor nominated by the governor was sometimes required to undergo a long trial before the appointment was confirmed by the secretary of state. For instance, Advocate Henry Cloete having left the colony, Mr. Thomas Butterworth Charles Bayley, an English gentleman then residing at Caledon, was nominated by Sir Peregrine Maitland to succeed him as member of the council, 10th of December 1845. The nomination was reported to Lord Stanley, but Mr. Gladstone, who on the 23rd of December 1845 succeeded that minister as secretary of state for the colonies, did not see fit to confirm it. In the next commission, that of Sir

Henry Pottinger, dated 1st of October 1846, Mr. Bayley was not named, but he was again nominated provisionally. He, however, declined any longer to submit to such treatment, and refused to take the seat, which remained vacant until the 26th of October 1847, when Mr. William Cock, of Port Frances, was sworn in as Advocate Cloete's successor. He was the first unofficial member selected from the eastern districts. Sir Henry Pottinger offered another seat to Dr. Atherstone, district surgeon of Albany, but that gentleman declined to resign his appointment in the civil service, and the offer was therefore withdrawn.

The next vacancy arose from the death of Mr. Michiel van Breda on the 12th of August 1847. A western man, Mr. Pieter Voltelen van der Byl, was chosen to succeed him, and took the oaths on the 11th of September of the same year. At this time there were six official members, exclusive of the governor, against five unofficial members, the senior military officer in the garrison of Capetown having been added by the secretary of state on the 1st of October 1846.

The people of the eastern districts were not very desirous of being represented in a council such as this. What they wanted was a government of their own, nearly or quite independent of that at Capetown. It was on the eastern frontier, they said, that all the danger from an enemy existed. There then should be a strong head and hand ever ready to act, instead of which they had merely a nominal lieutenant-governor in the person of Colonel Hare. In December 1845 they sent a strong petition to England to this effect.

Sir Peregrine Maitland and his advisers were of a different opinion. On the 24th of October, while the petition was being signed, the governor wrote to Lord Stanley that he thought if a frontier commissioner was appointed to see that the treaties with the Xosas were carried out, the lieutenant-governor's establishment might with advantage be done away with. He knew of no benefit to be derived from retaining it after a bi-weekly post was established between Capetown and the frontier.

Lord Stanley was undecided as to what was best. He approved of the appointment of a commissioner as proposed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, but he did not dispense with Colonel Hare's services. Anything like independent government for the eastern districts, however, he decidedly objected to. If that were granted, the western districts would be absolved from affording assistance in the event of a rupture with the Kaffirs, and the whole burden would fall upon England. His successor, Mr. Gladstone, in a despatch dated the 13th of January 1846 authorised Sir Peregrine Maitland to accept Colonel Hare's resignation of the office of lieutenant-governor, which he had frequently tendered. The minister intimated that the situation would remain vacant, at least for a time. Upon Colonel Hare's retirement therefore the business of the eastern districts was transferred to the secretary to government at Capetown.

A little later it was resolved in England to re-establish the office, and Sir Henry Edward Fox Young, previously government secretary in British Guiana, was sent out to fill it. He arrived on the 9th of April 1847. In June he issued a circular to various individuals requesting them to furnish him with their opinions as to whether more liberal institutions should be granted to the eastern province. A mass of manuscript was collected, including correspondence between the lieutenant-governor and Sir Henry Pottinger on the subject, and after being printed was referred to England, but nothing came of it, as in consequence of events to be related in another chapter, British authority was established beyond the colonial border, and the office of lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts was then regarded by the secretary of state as quite unnecessary.

The only other event of importance connected with Sir Henry Young's tenure of office was the formation of locations for coloured people within the boundaries of eastern province municipalities. On the 7th of July 1847 he issued a notice concerning these locations. They were to be within one or two miles of the centre of the town, and were to be divided

into building and garden lots with regular streets. Married blacks with recommendations from a magistrate, a clergyman, or a commissioner of the municipality, were then to be received as probationary settlers for two years. Within that time they were to enclose their ground and erect houses at least twenty-four by twelve feet in size, when they could claim titles upon condition of giving one day's work in a month for the general benefit; but they were not to be at liberty to sell the ground to Europeans without special sanction by the government. The locations were to be under the control of superintendents.

This system of providing for coloured people has since undergone several modifications, but in its principal features it is still carried out in eastern towns. The difference in cleanliness between these towns and those in the western districts is therefore all in favour of the former, because in the east Europeans live by themselves and there is no difficulty in requiring the observance of sanitary arrangements, whereas in the west Europeans and coloured people are intermingled, and it is almost impossible for any municipal authority to enforce rules that are regarded by the blacks as troublesome and unnecessary. To one class a foul atmosphere is of little or no importance, to the other it is a matter involving wretchedness, sickness, and death.

Sir Henry Young's tenure of office was very short. Having received the appointment of lieutenant-governor of South Australia, he left Grahamstown for that country on the 4th of November 1847, and the situation which he had held in the Cape Colony was not again filled.

Among the marks of progress during the time Sir Peregrine Maitland was governor may be mentioned the opening in Capetown on the 1st of October 1844 of the Colonial bank, with a capital of £100,000; the formation of the South African Mutual life assurance society, which opened its office in Capetown on the 26th of May 1845; and the opening of the Port Elizabeth bank, with a capital of £40,000, on the 1st of January 1847. During the

short tenure of office of Sir Henry Pottinger the Frontier Commercial and Agricultural bank was opened in Grahamstown, 15th of June 1847, with a capital of £75,000; the Union bank was opened in Capetown, 17th of July 1847, with a capital of £150,000; and the Western Province bank was opened at the Paarl, 2nd of August 1847, with a capital of £20,000.

For the safety of ships of war making use of Simon's Bay, Lord Stanley directed that a lighthouse should be built upon Miller's Point; but he was induced by the naval officers on the station to abandon that design, and instead of it on the 10th of January 1845 a light was first shown from a hulk moored off the Roman rock. It was a bright revolving light, thirty-seven feet above sea-level, and was the third exhibited on the South African coast, the others being at Green Point and Mouille Point on the shore of Table Bay.

In 1845 the legislative council voted £10,000 towards the construction of lighthouses on the capes Agulhas and Recife. A light at the last named place was urgently needed, owing to the growing importance of Algoa Bay. Vessels that could not come to anchor before dark were obliged to stand out to sea, and were often three or four days beating back. As for Cape Agulhas, so anxious were shipowners that a lighthouse should be erected there that they raised by subscription a sum of £1,738 which they offered to contribute towards it. The loss of life and property on and near this dangerous point—the southern extremity of Africa—had often been very considerable. Not including small craft, within ten years the following vessels were wrecked there:—

Sometime during the night of the 17th of July 1836 the barque *Doncaster*, bound from Mauritius to London with troops and other passengers on board, struck a few miles west of Agulhas, and before daybreak crumbled into fragments. Every one on board perished. The bodies of thirty-eight men and boys and of nineteen women and girls were washed ashore and buried, but how many others

were lost was never ascertained. Even the name of the vessel and her destination remained long unknown. In the night of the 25th of August 1838 the fine Indiaman *Northumberland*, homeward bound from Madras, struck on the point which still bears her name, and went to pieces. The people on board were saved, but the cargo was lost. During the night of the 9th of March 1840 the French ship *Lise*, bound from Mauritius to Bordeaux with a valuable cargo, struck on Agulhas reef and went to pieces, when twenty lives were lost. At five o'clock in the morning of the 20th of September 1844 the barque *St. Mungo*, from Culcutta bound to Newcastle, was wrecked at the same place, and ten of her crew were drowned. At eleven o'clock in the night of the 29th of April 1846 the American ship *Gentoo*, bound from Calcutta to Boston, was wrecked at Struys Bay, when seven lives were lost.

The construction of the lighthouses took more time than was at first anticipated, owing to a long correspondence with the secretary of state, which resulted, however, in half the cost being borne by the British treasury, as the matter was regarded as of importance to the whole empire. The lanterns were specially made in France. Owing to these delays, the light at Cape Agulhas was not exhibited until the 1st of March 1849. It was a steady white light of the first order, one hundred and thirty-one feet above sea-level. That on Cape Recife was a clear white light with brilliant flashes at intervals of one minute, ninety feet above the level of the sea, and was first exhibited on the 1st of April 1851. The total cost of the two was £24,100.

The hard road over the Cape flats was opened in sections as fast as they could be completed. Montagu bridge, over the Salt river, began to be used for general traffic on the 1st of July 1844; the last section through the sand towards Klapmuts on the 24th of December 1845; and the branch to Stellenbosch on the 1st of September 1846. Exclusive of convict labour, this road cost about £50,000. The money was raised partly by rates, partly by tolls, and partly by

special grants from the public treasury. In 1846 the grants amounted to £27,422 and the tolls to £2,755.

Besides the road over the Cape flats, the construction of a good carriage way through the mountain range close to the village of George was being carried on. This range was a formidable barrier to intercourse between the eastern and western districts near the coast. The place where it was crossed was known as Cradock's pass. It was thickly strewn with broken vehicles and the skeletons of oxen that perished in the attempt to get over it, for it was a succession of crags and precipices on one side or the other. A smooth road winding through ravines and along mountain sides was being made here, but it was not opened for traffic until the 18th of January 1848, when it received the name Montagu Pass. The most delicate carriage could then be driven along it at a gallop. The construction of these roads was regarded as of immense importance in opening up the country, as much so indeed as the laying down of a trunk line of railway is in our days.

Capetown was now partly lit at night by gas, a company having constructed gasworks and laid down mains in 1846.

Early in 1846 the asylum for lepers at Hemel en Aarde was broken up, and the patients were removed to Robben Island, where the convict quarters were available for their use, as the former occupants were transferred to road stations. It was believed that the lepers could be better provided for on the island, and that by their removal from the mainland danger from their intercourse with healthy people would be avoided. The reverend Mr. Lehman, Moravian missionary, accompanied the sufferers to their new home. An arrangement, however, was shortly afterwards made by which the spiritual care of the lepers was undertaken by the English episcopal church, and under the charge of that body of Christians they still remain.

In honour of members of Sir Peregrine Maitland's family only two places in South Africa are named. One is the hamlet Maitland on the Cape flats, the other is the village

of Richmond. This village, like many others in the colony, was founded as a church place. On the 11th of October 1843 elders and deacons for a new congregation in that locality were chosen by the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet, and on the 2nd of November were approved by the lieutenant-governor. A tract of land between eight and nine thousand morgen in extent, being part of the farm Driefontein, was purchased, and a village was laid out, of which the first building allotments were sold on the 19th of April 1844. Early in January services were held by a consulent, and shortly afterwards the reverend Jan Frederik Berrange became clergyman of the new congregation. For a few months he was without other salary than the offerings of the people, but on the 18th of June 1844 he was placed upon the clerical establishment of the colony. The members of the consistory proposed to call the village Maitland, but the governor would not give his consent. They then requested that it might be called Richmond, in honour of Lady Sarah Maitland's father, and by notice in the *Gazette* on the 29th of November 1844 that name was substituted for Driefontein.

To another newly formed village, on the Stormberg spruit, then the north-eastern boundary of the colony, the governor also declined to allow his name to be given. The territory between the border and the Kraai river was occupied by about three hundred families of farmers, who had moved from the colony into it when it was without any occupants except a few Bushmen. The roving Basuto captain Moyakisani, who was found there in 1835, had long since abandoned the country south of the Orange and had gone to live at the Koesberg. The farmers were desirous of being under a settled government, and early in 1845 sent a petition to Colonel Hare requesting that the territory might be annexed to the Cape Colony. On the 22nd of August Sir Peregrine Maitland forwarded the petition to Lord Stanley, with his opinion that it should be complied with; but the secretary of state, acting in accordance with the ideas of

the time, declined to sanction an enlargement of the British possessions in South Africa.

Before a reply was received from England the people of the territory resolved to build a church, and on the 22nd and 23rd of January 1846 a meeting was held on the farm of Jan Steenkamp to decide as to the course to be followed. The reverend Messrs. Murray, of Graaff-Reinet, Reid, of Colesberg, and Taylor, of Cradock, were present, and took part in the proceedings. It was resolved to purchase a farm and lay out a village upon it, so that with the proceeds of the sale of building plots and voluntary subscriptions a church and parsonage could be erected. A committee—consisting of Messrs. J. C. Greyling, P. van der Walt, M. Kruger, P. H. Henning, Jan Steenkamp, A. J. Coetsee, J. P. Smit, and John Montgomery—was appointed to carry out this resolution. Having carefully inspected several places, a choice was made, and on the 9th of February 1846 the committee purchased the farm Klipfontein, three thousand six hundred and seven morgen in extent, on the Stormberg spruit, from Mr. Gerrit Buytendag. A request was then sent to the governor that he would allow the village which was about to be formed to be called Maitland, but he would not consent. The committee thereupon gave the place the democratic name Burghersdorp.

On the 18th of January 1847 a regularly appointed consistory held its first meeting, and the committee was dissolved. On the 16th of March of the same year a number of erven were disposed of. Mr. Taylor, of Cradock, acted as consulent until the 27th of May 1849, when the reverend John Murray was installed as first resident minister. The site of Burghersdorp was not as well chosen as that of most villages founded under similar circumstances, being a narrow valley between bare steep hills, exposed to great heat in summer, and without room for much expansion. But its founders' principal design was to secure a convenient centre for establishing a church for the benefit of people previously at a great distance from a place of worship, and they never

anticipated that within the lifetime of some of their number a railway would pass through it.

In the same manner the village of Victoria West had its origin at this time as a church place. On the 11th of October 1843 the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet appointed elders and deacons for a new congregation in the division of Beaufort West, but as the governor had not previously given his consent some delay took place, and they were not inducted until the 17th of April 1844. The farm Zeekoegat and part of the farm Kapokfontein were then acquired, and a village was laid out. By desire of the consistory these names were changed to Victoria West by government notice on the 25th of September 1844. The first clergyman of this congregation was the reverend Willem Adolf Krige, who was appointed by the governor on the 1st of August 1844, and was inducted on the 27th of the following October.

In a different manner churches of the Dutch reformed communion were established at this time at French Hoek and at Mossel Bay.

The church at French Hoek grew out of a mission that dated as far back as 1834, when several farmers contributed funds to erect a chapel and dwelling house, and engaged the services of an evangelist to instruct the coloured people in the neighbourhood. In 1844 the evangelist left, and they then determined to form themselves into a congregation distinct from that of the Paarl, with a clergyman who would also carry on mission work. For this purpose they set about building a church in which the Europeans and coloured people could meet together for worship, so that the chapel might be used as a schoolhouse; and they then applied to the presbytery of the Cape to carry out their wishes.

Some people in the parish of Caledon who lived nearer to French Hoek than to their own church desired to join them, and sent a petition to that effect to the presbytery of Swellendam. Both presbyteries approved of the design, and

conjointly appointed a commission to define boundaries for the proposed parish. On the 10th of February 1845 these boundaries were submitted for the governor's approval, and were confirmed. On the 8th of May in the same year the names of the first elders and deacons were forwarded to the governor as a matter of courtesy by the secretary of the presbytery of the Cape, and being approved on the following day, the congregation was established. The reverend Pieter Nicolaas Ham had then for several months been labouring at French Hoek among both Europeans and coloured people. His salary was paid by the congregation until the 2nd of October 1845, when he was placed by the governor upon the clerical staff of the colony.

In 1843 the people of Mossel Bay obtained a grant of a small plot of ground, and set about building a church by subscription. Their request to be formed into a distinct congregation came before the presbytery of Swellendam in October 1844, and being received with approval, a commission was appointed by that body to define the boundaries of the new parish and to appoint a consistory. On the 30th of April 1845 the reverend Tobias Johannes van der Riet received from the governor the appointment of clergyman of Mossel Bay, and was inducted on the 11th of the following month, on the same day that the church building was first used for public worship.

In 1845 clergymen of the English episcopal church were stationed at Graaff-Reinet and at George, and in 1847 one was stationed at Uitenhage. A second place of worship in connection with this body—Trinity church in Harrington-street—was opened in Capetown on the 12th of July 1845.

The extension of churches by other Christian bodies was proceeding at an equal rate, but it is not necessary to record the particulars as in the case of the Dutch communion, because they were not connected with the formation of new villages, nor had they that influence upon the great mass of the people except in purely mission work. In this respect also the Dutch church was making

rapid advances, as at this time there were forty-eight mission centres directly or indirectly connected with it.

In 1846 there were in the colony twenty-five public schools supported exclusively by the public treasury, and fifty-six receiving grants in aid. The subsidy to the South African college had just been doubled, bringing it up to £400 a year. The normal school in Capetown was providing teachers of a better class than could previously be obtained for elementary schools.

The country people still lived in a very simple style. On the farms it was usual to rise at early dawn, and after partaking of a cup of coffee to sing a psalm before commencing the labours of the day. Strangers were always welcome to a seat at the table, and indeed looked upon hospitable entertainment as a matter of course. The food was plain, but plentiful, and consisted largely of flesh. In many of the frontier houses dried venison—called in this country biltong—was used as vegetables and bread are by English people. Dried fruit was also used more largely than in Europe. Milk was the ordinary beverage at dinner, and coffee at daybreak, at breakfast, and again in the afternoon. It was customary to sleep for an hour when the midday meal was over, especially in the hot summer days, when the hour was often lengthened to two. A hearty meal in the early evening was followed by listening to the reading of a chapter of the Bible and family prayers, when after a short conversation all retired to rest. Remedies for various ailments were known to most women advanced in years, and in nearly every house was to be seen a small tin box containing bottles of well-known medicines and labelled *Huis Apotheek*.

The country people were firm believers in ghosts and apparitions, and stories of haunted places were told with bated breath. Though they ridiculed the grosser ideas of the Bantu and Hottentots with regard to witchcraft, many of them were by no means free of fear of powers of evil brought into action by human agency. Their favourite tales were

such as required a large amount of credulity in the listener. To make a simpleton believe something that to themselves was utterly absurd—usually some feat of their own or their friends—was commonly regarded with great satisfaction, and they never reflected that such tales might be repeated to their prejudice in books in Europe.

In the villages the course of life was almost as prosaic. The great event was the gathering of the farmers with their families every three months for the celebration of the Lord's supper. They usually arrived on Friday, and remained until the following Monday evening or Tuesday morning. Many of the country people had cottages in the village, which were nearly always built of red brick with green shutters to the windows, and in these they lived during their stay. Others slept in great tent waggons, and had their meals in the open air. To these gatherings came traders and speculators, and though the clergyman was sure to remonstrate, auction sales of cattle took place and goods of various kinds changed hands. When the last waggon left to return home the village resumed its ordinary quiet appearance. The green shutters were closed in the little red cottages, and grass or weeds soon began to grow in front of the doors. Now and then a stranger would arrive and stay overnight at the inn, which was almost invariably kept by a German. Further than this there was little except the weekly post to relieve the monotony. A few old people had their grandchildren staying with them in order to attend school, and a few others lived in the village to be near the church. The customs of the farms were observed in such houses. Then there were shopkeepers and mechanics of various kinds, mostly English, Scotch, Irish, or German, who carried their national habits with them. As the village grew, a church, or perhaps more than one, of some other denomination than the Dutch reformed would be established. A medical practitioner would take up his residence in the place, and there would certainly be several land and law agents. Finally a magistrate would be appointed, and a municipal council would be elected.

The old style of clothing had nearly gone out of date, though tanned leather trousers and fur waistcoats were still occasionally seen. On the farms home-made shoes with raw hides soles were still generally worn, except by the wealthiest people. Soap and candles of home make were also to be seen in all the country houses. With these exceptions, English manufactured goods, clothing, crockery, and ironware, had come into general use.

In the towns people lived as they do in Europe and America under similar conditions.

A new port on the South African coast was opened in October 1846 by the entrance of the little schooner *Rosebud*, commanded by Captain Duthie, into the mouth of the Umzimvubu, "the place of residence of the hippopotamus." This stream rises in the Kathlamba mountains, and with its numerous tributaries which flow through some of the richest lands and most picturesque scenery in South Africa, drains a great extent of country. The mouth, in common with those of all the streams along the coast, is often nearly closed by a bar of sand. When heavy rains fall in the uplands, a channel is sometimes opened across the bar thirty feet and upwards in depth; but on other occasions it is often not more than three feet deep. Above the bar a sheet of water, from two hundred to two hundred and fifty yards across and from twenty to thirty feet in depth, extends some eleven or twelve miles, when a ford is reached. For the last two miles of its course the river passes through an enormous rent in the elevated coast, called the Gates of St. John. From the water rises on each side a steep bank covered with dark evergreen forest trees, above which frown sheer precipices of naked rock a thousand feet and upwards in height. Above the Gates the river winds between rugged banks clothed with trees and grass, but less grand than the stupendous cleft below.

The entrance to the Umzimvubu was thus difficult and dangerous. The *Rosebud*, however, met with no accident. A schooner named the *Ann* was then chartered by some traders,

and sailed from Algoa Bay for the newly-opened port. On the 18th of January 1847 she anchored in the offing, when the traders and some sailors went in two boats to look for the channel, but were overturned in the surf and ten men were drowned. The *Ann* then returned to Algoa Bay. Notwithstanding this disaster and the wreck of the schooner *Conch* on the 7th of November of the same year—fortunately without loss of life—the mouth of the river continued to be used by small craft. For a short time it was called Rosebud Bay, but thereafter it became better known as Port St. John's. The greatest drawback to this port was not the difficulty of landing and shipping, but of communicating with the back country, owing to the ruggedness of the land near the coast and the absence of anything like a waggon road.

On the 7th of January 1846 Table Bay was visited by a violent north-west gale, a very unusual event in mid-summer. Two vessels were driven ashore. One—the *Diana*, a Portuguese slaver—was a prize to the British cruiser *Mutine*. No lives were lost in her wreck. The other was a barque of three hundred and sixty-eight tons, named the *Francis Spaight*, and was bound from Manilla to London with a cargo valued at £32,000. When she struck, a whale-boat belonging to Mr. Jearey, of Capetown, put off from the south jetty to run a line from the wreck to the shore. As soon as the boat got alongside, officers and sailors alike rushed into her, which caused her to swamp, and twenty-one men were drowned. Only two boatmen and two of the wrecked ship's crew reached the land alive.

Owing to improvements in the building and rigging of sailing vessels, and especially to the rapidly increasing use of steam as a propelling power, communication with Europe was now much more easy and rapid than it had been in the early years of the century. Letters from England were often received in from forty to fifty days after being written. A passage of then unequalled rapidity was made by the Peninsular and Oriental Company's iron paddle-wheel

steamship *Pottinger*, of one thousand four hundred and two tons burden, which put into Table Bay on the 9th of April 1847. Her steaming time from Southampton, touching at Gibraltar, Ascension, and St. Helena, exclusive of detentions at those places, was thirty-four days and three hours. But she had the most powerful engines known to naval architects of that time, and was considered the swiftest vessel afloat.

The all-important question at this period was the relationship between the Europeans and the Bantu. It is not a pleasant subject to write of, because its incidents have little or no variety except in the changed attitudes of the European authorities, and everything connected with it is petty and dull. But it is the subject that makes the history of the Cape Colony different from that of other British possessions, it is still, and must continue to be, a matter of vital importance to South Africans, and it is only by a knowledge of past events that such great mistakes as were then made can be avoided in future. For these reasons the minutest details of the dealings of the English authorities with the Bantu tribes must find a place in the history of the country.

Sir Peregrine Maitland found that the Xosas would likely give him as much trouble as they had given his predecessors. The object of the Stockenstrom treaties was "to raise the Kaffirs in the scale of civilisation by appealing to their sense of justice for restitution of stolen property, rather than extorting it by force of arms." Sir George Napier, who wrote that sentence, found by experience that the original treaties did nothing of the kind. He therefore arranged certain modifications with the chiefs, and hoped for a better result. He was disappointed, and then the truth came forcibly home to him that the system had completely failed. But what was to be substituted in its place, as long as the imperial government declined to deal with the border clans except as independent powers?

On the 4th of December 1843 he submitted a scheme to Lord Stanley, which was in effect to pay tribute in order

to be released from plunder. He proposed that salaries should be given to the chiefs along the border, upon condition of the good conduct of their people and the surrender of thieves for punishment. He was of opinion that the thieves, upon conviction, should be severely flogged in public, so as to inflict upon them a mark of disgrace in the eyes of their countrymen. And further he suggested that institutions should be established in Kaffirland at the cost of the colony, for the purpose of promoting habits of industry and imparting religious instruction to the people.

To this despatch Lord Stanley replied on the 11th of March 1844, instructing Sir Peregrine Maitland to omit no safe and proper measure which it might be in his power to adopt for increasing the security of the persons and property of the queen's subjects in the frontier districts. Sir Benjamin D'Urban's system might indeed be better than the one existing, but it would be necessary to go to war in order to revert to it, and that was not to be thought of. In his opinion the infractions of the treaties by the Kaffirs absolved the queen's government from the obligation of a strict adherence to them, and he claimed the right of insisting on their modification. He approved of Sir George Napier's proposals, but feared that the prospect of improving the character of the Xosas by education was too uncertain and remote to be relied on as a means of escape from the dangers to which the colony was exposed by their vicinity. He gave the governor permission to change the duties of the diplomatic agents to promoting the lawful claims of their fellow colonists, instead of acting as the protectors and advocates of the Kaffirs; and in very urgent cases he sanctioned reprisals from the chiefs, but only as a last resource. In conclusion he left the whole matter to Sir Peregrine Maitland's judgment, but reminded him that there were limits beyond which the military force of Great Britain could not be employed.

On the 1st of July 1844, before the governor had time to make any new arrangements, seven robbers of Sandile's

clan, while being pursued by a party of farmers in the district of Albany, mortally wounded a burgher named Jan de Lange. One of the robbers was afterwards shot by De Lange's companions, but six made good their escape.

Lieutenant-Governor Hare then demanded of Sandile that they should be surrendered for trial, and met with a refusal. Upon this he marched with a body of troops to Blockdrift—now the village of Alice,—and announced that the soldiers would not leave the territory until the murderers were given up. After some delay Sandile surrendered two, but either allowed the others to escape or actually concealed them.

Meantime Sir Peregrine Maitland had proceeded to the frontier, and was busy making inquiries. He speedily came to the conclusion that the line of defence on the right bank of the Fish river was a great mistake in a military point of view, and that no salutary moral influence was produced on the minds of the Kaffirs by troops stationed there such as would arise from the presence of a considerable force in their midst. He found that the Xosas were sinking deeper in barbarism, owing to the policy pursued towards them, and the Scotch and Wesleyan missionaries gave some information which shocked him. They stated that an ancient custom which permitted the chiefs to ravish any girls they took a fancy to had recently been revived, though Lord Charles Somerset in 1819 had induced Gaika to abolish it. But that was not by any means the only evil result of the Stockenstrom treaties that they had to tell of.

In order to overawe the most turbulent clans the governor selected a site for a fort on the watershed between the Keiskama and Fish rivers, at the head of the Sheshegu streamlet. The fort was to be nothing better than a simple bank of earth enclosing military huts for the accommodation of four hundred men. It was named Post Victoria. Botumane's people lived in the neighbourhood, and some of Sandile's kraals were only a few miles distant. For a time the establishment of this post seemed to answer the purpose intended,

as for the next eight months hardly any cattle were stolen from the colony.

On the 3rd of October a notice was issued offering a reward of £50 each for the apprehension of the four murderers of De Lange who were still at large. They were not secured, however, but Sandile, upon Colonel Hare's demand, paid fifty head of cattle to the murdered man's widow.

At Fort Peddie Sir Peregrine Maitland met the captains of the Ndlambe, Gunukwebe, Amambala, and Fingo clans and arranged with them the terms of new treaties, which were prepared after his return to Capetown. As the Fingos could be depended upon in case of need, and as they were exposed to raids by the Xosas, he left two hundred muskets with Mr. Shepstone for their use.

Travelling rapidly, on the 5th of October he was at Fort Beaufort, where Umtirara, Mapasa, and other Tembu chiefs were waiting to meet him. Sandile, Makoma, and Botumane were also there. The terms of new treaties with all of these were arranged, but the documents were not drawn up until a later date.

The governor tried to overawe the Rarabe chiefs by informing them that he was entering into treaties of alliance with Faku and Kreli, and would therefore have friends in their rear; but he deceived himself if he thought his communication had any such effect.

The treaty with Faku will be described in another chapter, that with Kreli was signed by Sir Peregrine Maitland at Fort Beaufort on the 7th of October, and Mr. Theophilus Shepstone was then sent with it to Butterworth to obtain the chief's mark.

Its principal provisions were that Kreli would protect missionaries, traders, and other British subjects residing in his territory as well as travellers and the post passing through it, that he would deliver up for trial all persons committing crimes in the colony and taking refuge with his people, that he would cause any witnesses whose evidence

should be required to appear before the colonial courts, that he would restore stolen cattle traced to his territory or make compensation for them, that he would prevent the landing of goods on his part of the coast without a license from the colonial government, that he would keep peace with his neighbours, and that he would respect the British agent living with him. As long as he should carry out all these conditions the governor undertook to pay him yearly fifty pounds sterling in money or in useful articles.

To this treaty Kreli affixed his mark on the 4th of November 1844, in presence of Mr. Shepstone and the agent residing with him, Mr. William Macdowell Fynn. The governor seems to have hoped that the yearly payment of £50 would be an inducement to the Galeka chief to keep his agreement, though he must have had some doubt about it, for in writing to the secretary of state he observed that "the efficacy of any treaties with the Kaffir tribes must depend chiefly on the machinery for carrying their provisions into operation." Another year's experience was needed to convince him that treaties with the Kaffirs were useless under any circumstances.

The arrangements made by the governor with the Rarabe captains were embodied in documents which were forwarded to the frontier officials after his return to Capetown.

They provided that all former treaties should be annulled, and these be substituted in their places. The boundary of 1819, as agreed to by Gaika, was recognised as dividing British territory from Kaffirland, and the captains accepted as a special favour the loan of the district they were occupying west of that line, which the governor guaranteed to them in perpetuity, except in case of their committing acts of hostility or breaking the terms of the agreement. The right of the British government to build forts and station troops anywhere west of the line of 1819 was recognised. The ground to be occupied by British subjects and Kaffirs remained the same as in the Stockenstrom treaties, as did also the articles concerning diplomatic agents and the

necessity for passes. The captains recognised the right of the colonial police and the Cape mounted riflemen to enter any part of the territory west of the line of 1819, and promised to assist them in apprehending criminals and seizing stolen property; they promised to deliver up persons committing crimes in the colony for trial before colonial courts, and to compel the attendance of witnesses; also to restore any stolen property found on the land occupied by their people, and to pay the cost of recovering it. They promised further to make compensation for any stolen cattle traced to their grounds, but which could not be discovered. The remaining clauses provided for the protection of missionaries and British subjects in general, the encouragement of schools, the preservation of peace with their neighbours, and other matters of the kind.

At Fort Peddie on the 2nd of January 1845 the captains Umkayi, Umhala, Siwani, and Gasela attached their marks to a treaty to this effect, in presence of Colonel Hare, Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, and Captain John Maclean of the 27th regiment, who was in command of the fort. As long as they should observe its conditions, the governor undertook to pay to them jointly £200 a year in money or useful articles.

At the same time and place Eno and his son Stokwe attached their marks to a copy of the treaty, and were promised £50 a year between them if they kept it. Pato and Kobe were parties to another of the same tenor, and were promised £100 a year; and the Fingo captains Jokweni, Mabandla, Kwenkwezi, Matomela, Kawulela, Pahla, and Jama attached their marks to a copy, and obtained £100 a year among them.

These four treaties were then returned to Sir Peregrine Maitland, and were signed by him in Capetown on the 30th of January 1845.

Sandile, Makoma, Botumane, and Xoxo attached their marks to their copy on the 21st of January 1845, but were promised nothing in return, and as they raised objections to

the constitution of a border court of appeal, some time was spent in negotiations, and the governor did not sign it until the 22nd of November. Very little value was attached to it by him, as by that time he had learned much from experience. He had no hope, wrote the secretary to government to the diplomatic agent Stretch, "that these or any other treaties would be found effective, unless the chiefs and heads of kraals were determined to act faithfully and honestly towards the British government."

One of similar import received the marks of the Tembu chiefs Umtirara, Mapasa, and six others on the 25th of March 1845, and was signed by the governor in Capetown on the 11th of April.

As Sandile declared that the robbery of the farmers was carried on against his wish, and that he had not sufficient authority over his followers to suppress it, Mr. Stretch was instructed to ask him if he would like a fort near his kraal to strengthen his hands. The chief replied that he would, and he seemed so earnest that the agent really believed him.

Under the treaties the governor had a right to build forts wherever he chose west of the line of 1819, but the proposal now before Sandile was that one should be erected on the eastern bank of the Tyumie at Blockdrift, close to the Lovedale school and Mr. Stretch's residence. The governor thought the site much better than that of Post Victoria, because the latter place was poorly supplied with water; but he could not make use of it without Sandile's consent.

The terms proposed by the chief—on the 19th of November 1845—were that he should receive a yearly rent for the ground, that no traders should settle there without his permission, and that each should pay him £20 a year for a license. There were also a few stipulations of less importance.

On the 29th of the same month the border was thrown into excitement by the murder of a missionary near Fort Peddie. The reverend Mr. Dohne, of the Berlin society,

had recently formed a station called Bethel with Gasela's people, at the site of the present village of Stutterheim. Three missionaries were on the way from Port Elizabeth to join Mr. Dohne, and were resting for the night about seven miles from Fort Peddie. The waggons in which they were travelling were conducted by Mr. Richard Tainton, and one of them was the property of Mr. Theophilus Shepstone.

Mr. Shepstone had been replaced as diplomatic agent by Captain John Maclean only sixteen days before. He was out of favour with Pato's people, and as he was supposed at the time to be travelling towards Fort Peddie, a plan was made to murder him on the way. He was, however, not with the missionary party, though his Hottentot servant was. About two o'clock in the morning the waggons were attacked by a band of Gunukwebes. The Hottentot servant, who was asleep by a fire, was stabbed to death. Mr. Tainton and another slipped out of one of the waggons and concealed themselves. Into the one in which the missionaries were sleeping an assagai was thrown, and the reverend Ernest Scholtz received a wound from which he died a few hours afterwards. The Kaffirs then decamped.

The surrender of the murderers was demanded from Pato, and he promised to comply; but from the first it was evident he had no intention of doing so, and they were never given up.

During the excitement caused by this event, the governor sent a message to Captain Walpole, of the royal engineers, to inspect the ground at Blockdrift and report upon it. By some mistake Lieutenant Stokes and four sappers were sent by Captain Walpole to make a regular survey of both banks of the Tyumie at Blockdrift, and pitched a tent on the eastern side of the river for their accommodation while doing so.

Sandile, who never seemed of the same mind two months in succession, was just then acting in a most aggravating manner towards the Europeans in his country. Although every trader paid him four pounds yearly for a license, he

was in the habit of begging from them, and if they did not give what he asked for, he demanded it in such a manner that they were afraid to refuse. On the 13th of January 1846 he was seen approaching a shop at the Tyumie mission station, when the trader, a man named Thomas Maclachlan, to avoid being compelled to give his goods away, went out and locked the door. Sandile ordered him to open it again, and upon his refusing to do so, struck him in the face, took the key, entered the shop, and helped himself to a bridle, a blanket, two packets of brass chain, and a roll of tobacco.

Eight days after this event some of his men who were looking for stolen cattle traced the spoor to Bethel. There they found their cows mixed with those belonging to the station people, and without waiting for an explanation they wounded the reverend Mr. Dohne's herd and took away two of his calves. Thereupon Mr. Dohne made a complaint to the diplomatic agent.

Mr. Stretch sent a message to Sandile demanding redress for both these offences, and on the 24th of January received the chief's reply. Let the governor come for payment of the trader's goods, it ran, his warriors were ready. The traders and their goods were under his feet, and he would do with them as he liked. The matter of the mission station was nothing. Lieutenant Stokes and the four men surveying at Blockdrift must leave the next day, and Post Victoria must also be removed.

Major Thomas Charlton Smith, of the 27th regiment, had in the preceding month been appointed agent-general and frontier commissioner, purposely to see that the treaties were carried out. He was stationed at Fort Beaufort. Upon receiving Sandile's message, Mr. Stretch reported it to him, and he considered it so threatening that he at once sent a hundred men of the 91st to Blockdrift to protect the residency. He then despatched an express to the lieutenant-governor at Grahamstown, who sent every available soldier from that place to reinforce Fort Beaufort and Post Victoria, and proceeded to the front himself.

On receipt of the intelligence at Capetown, two hundred rank and file of the 27th were ordered to Simonstown, were embarked there in the war-steamer *Thunderbolt*, and on the 2nd of February left for Algoa Bay.

Colonel Hare had a meeting with Sandile at Blockdrift on the 29th of January. The chief was attended by about three thousand armed men, and though he toned down his message of the 24th and expressed regret for having used hasty words on that occasion, he stated his determination not to permit the erection of a fort at the residency and urged that Post Victoria should be removed. It was evident to Colonel Hare that Sandile was in the hands of those who were ready for war, but that he was fainthearted himself, for privately he sent a penitent message for what had occurred. The matter was then allowed to drop.

The condition of the Xosas at this time was very aptly described by the governor in his despatches. The treaties were useless to repress their marauding habits, as the chiefs were under no moral restraint. If a moderate amount of robbery could be committed without their being called to account, the chiefs would prefer such peace to open war; but rather than suppress it altogether they would resort to hostilities. The young warriors were ready to make a dash into the colony to sweep off the cattle, and Sandile was too weakminded to check their inclinations.

Setting robberies aside, since the signing of the Stockenstrom treaties one hundred and six individuals had been murdered by Xosas at different places on the frontier, though not a single act of violence could be traced to a colonist. Makoma was the only chief who even pretended to have been injured by white people, but when his complaints were investigated they dwindled down to a statement that some deserters from the 7th dragoon guards had once hired a couple of horses from him, and he had never seen them again. As a matter of policy the governor gave him £30 to cover the loss of the horses, when the chief expressed himself perfectly satisfied.

Makoma's jealousy of Sandile was so great that he could not heartily join the war party, because the other was regarded as its head. A very miserable life he was leading, even for a barbarian. Missionary effort had been concentrated on him to no purpose, for though his words to the teachers were always good, his acts were those of a heathen. The same man that said to a missionary in reference to his work among the Kaffirs, "the rock is hard: you may not be able to break it to pieces, but you must pound away and you will get bits off it," in a moment of passion compelled one of his wives to bury her new-born infant alive, and frequently caused wealthy followers to be murdered on a charge of sorcery that he might confiscate their property. He had become a slave to brandy, and much of his time was spent in drunkenness in the canteens of Fort Beaufort. When in this condition he was a source of terror to his wives and attendants, whom he assaulted at will, as it would have been deemed a dreadful crime to resist a chief of his rank.

On the 23rd of February Makoma applied to Major Smith for a location in the colony for himself and his people, as he wished to be out of the way in case of war. It was doubtful whether he was in earnest, and under any circumstance the request was one that could not be granted.

This was not the only warning the government had of what was coming. On the 29th of January Toyise, who succeeded to the chieftainship of an important clan upon the death of his father Gasela in March 1845, informed Captain Maclean that Sandile was trying to induce the Ndlambes to enter into alliance with him against the colony. On the 16th of February Mr. Stretch received reliable information that Sandile had sent to Mapasa and other Tembu chiefs to ask for assistance in the coming strife; and on the 14th of March Umkayi for the second time applied to Captain Maclean to allow him to retire to the colony, as he was sure there would shortly be war.

CHAPTER XXVII.

COMMENCEMENT OF A GREAT EMIGRATION FROM THE CAPE COLONY.

THE abandonment of the Cape Colony by many thousands of substantial burghers, who were intent upon seeking a new home in the wilderness where they could be free from what they regarded as intolerable vexation, is an event unique in the modern history of European dependencies.

No people not of British descent ever offered such favourable material for conversion into loyal subjects as did these South Africans when forty years earlier they came by conquest under British rule. They were men of our own race, of that sturdy Nether-Teuton stock which peopled England and Scotland as well as the delta of the Rhine. With the main stream of their Batavian blood had indeed mingled many rivulets not of Batavian origin, but the stubborn current had flowed on unchanged, absorbing and assimilating them all.

They spoke a dialect which our great Alfred would have understood without much difficulty, which is nearer to the language of the men who fought under Harold at Senlac than is the English tongue of to-day. Their religion was that of the people of Scotland, of a considerable number of the people of England. That there was nothing of the nature of race antagonism between them and the people of Great Britain is shown by the readiness with which intermarriages have taken place ever since the colony came under our flag. Even the feeling of dislike which long commercial rivalry engendered between the English and Dutch in Europe was not shared to any appreciable extent by the colonists of South Africa. There was in truth hardly any difference in sentiment between

them and a body of Englishmen or Scotchmen of equally limited education that can not be referred to what hereditary instinct would create between a purely agricultural and pastoral people living for nearly two centuries in seclusion from the rest of the world, and a people chiefly engaged in manufactures and commerce, with the working of modern ideas all around them.

No single event brought on the emigration, but causes of disaffection had been accumulating ever since 1811. A summary of the opinions of the secretary of state and of the governor upon this matter has been given in their own words. Here is the declaration of one of the ablest men among the emigrants, which he caused to be published before he left the colony:—

GRAHAMSTOWN, 22*nd January* 1837.

1. We despair of saving the colony from those evils which threaten it by the turbulent and dishonest conduct of vagrants, who are allowed to infest the country in every part; nor do we see any prospect of peace or happiness for our children in a country thus distracted by internal commotions.

2. We complain of the severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves, and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them.

3. We complain of the continual system of plunder which we have for years endured from the Kaffirs and other coloured classes, and particularly by the last invasion of the colony, which has desolated the frontier districts and ruined most of the inhabitants.

4. We complain of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, under the name of religion, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all evidence in our favour; and we can foresee, as the result of this prejudice, nothing but the total ruin of the country.

5. We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty; but, whilst we will take care that no one is brought by us into a condition of slavery, we will establish such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve proper relations between master and servant.

6. We solemnly declare that we leave this country with a desire to enjoy a quieter life than we have hitherto had. We will not molest any people, nor deprive them of the smallest property; but, if attacked,

we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects, to the utmost of our ability, against every enemy.

7 and 8. (Of little importance.)

9. We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future.

10. We are now leaving the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are about to enter a strange and dangerous territory; but we go with a firm reliance on an all-seeing, just, and merciful God, whom we shall always fear and humbly endeavour to obey.

In the name of all who leave this colony with me,

P. RETIEF.

Two theories of the emigration remain to be noticed.

The first is that it was really nothing more than a continuation of what had been going on since the beginning of the eighteenth century. This is incorrect. An expansion of the colony had been constantly taking place by men who were without farms, or who held farms of small value, moving to the nearest unoccupied land on the border, and then applying to the government for it, or wandering about in it without permission. This expansion was gradual, and those who were engaged in it had at the time no thought of founding new and distinct states. The emigration after 1836 was that of masses of people, including some of the very best men in the country, who abandoned or sold for little or nothing some of the choicest lands in South Africa, and who left the colony avowedly to get rid of English rule and to form independent communities anywhere and at any distance in the interior.

The other theory is that of most people in England, that the movement was due to an objection by the Dutch colonists to the freedom of the slaves. This is equally incorrect. To what has been related in previous chapters may be added that in the records of the emigrants—including a vast number of private letters to friends and relatives—there is not a word in favour of slavery, though there is much concerning losses from the manner in which the slaves were emancipated. The best and readiest method

of showing how little the slavery question in any of its aspects really had to do with the emigration, when compared with other matters, is to give the number of slaves in different parts of the colony and the number of people who removed from the same areas. The first can be ascertained with the greatest accuracy from the protector's returns, and for the last there are reports from the civil commissioners specially called for by the government, which, however, can only be regarded as approximately correct.

On the 30th of November 1834 there were in the Cape and Stellenbosch districts twenty-one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven slaves, or fifty-six per cent of the whole number owned in the colony. From these districts there was no emigration worth noticing during the years 1836 to 1839. In the districts of Worcester, Swellendam, and George there were eleven thousand and twenty-one slaves, or twenty-eight per cent of the whole number, and the emigrants from these districts were a little less than two per cent of the whole.

Finally, in the districts of Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet, Somerset, Albany, and Uitenhage—that is the part of the colony exposed to marauders,—on the 30th of November 1834 there were six thousand three hundred and thirty-three slaves, or sixteen per cent of the entire number, and the people who left these districts were rather over ninety-eight per cent of those who left the whole colony between the 1st of January 1836 and the 31st of December 1839. It is true that in the last-named districts the slaves were more equally distributed among the burghers than in the south-western part of the colony, still far the greater number of those who migrated had never owned a negro. Except those who were without cattle, waggons, and other means, those who had been slaveholders were indeed the least able of all the Europeans in the country to use the personal exertion needed in removing to the distant interior and making new homes there.

Some years later when, owing to the internal weakness of the different governments established by the emigrants,

coupled with security against violence by blacks, it became possible for runaway debtors and rogues of different descriptions to live and thrive upon the borders of their settlements, it was frequently asserted by their enemies that the farmers left the colony to free themselves from the restraints of law. This charge was untrue. The early emigrants constantly maintained that they left the colony to free themselves not of law but of lawlessness. A few men of indifferent character may have gone with the stream, but their boast as a body was that they left in open day and after their intentions had been publicly announced. That they should be followed by men whose motives were different was quite natural, but they cannot in justice be blamed for it.

On leaving the colony the emigrants maintained that they ceased to be British subjects. They asserted that the Cape having become an English dependency by conquest and subsequent cession by the prince who had just become sovereign of their former fatherland, they were English subjects while they remained within its bounds, but that no allegiance was due to the king by them when they left it, as they were not his subjects by descent. This claim, however, was not admitted by either the colonial or the imperial government, who denied their right to throw off allegiance in this way.

In one respect the Dutch colonists were very unlike their kindred in Europe. In the Netherlands men were strongly attached to the locality of their birth and to their own little province, but in South Africa beyond the first range of mountains, owing to the old land tenure the people had lost all feeling of this kind. Their affection was for the country as a whole, and it was very strong, but whether they lived in one part or in another five hundred miles away was a matter of little concern to them. It was thus not a cause of much regret in itself for these men and women to tear themselves away from the part of South Africa termed the Cape Colony, and make new homes in a part bearing another name.

Nor was the travelling in waggons over a roadless country for hundreds of miles so formidable an undertaking for them as it would be for persons born and reared in an English city. To colonists the tented ox-waggon is by no means an uncomfortable conveyance in fine weather, when meals can be taken in the open air. Provided with a katel, which is almost equal to a spring bedstead, it supplies fairly good accommodation at night, while its various chests inside and out afford convenient receptacles for everything needed on a journey. A few folding chairs, a similar table, and a screen constitute the only furniture required in the veld.

Still, when all this is said, it was no light matter to leave the colony and plunge into the interior, where there were no churches or stores or markets, even if that interior was in all other respects the same as the districts they were abandoning. The clergy set their faces decidedly against the movement, as they feared that the people when away in the wilds would retrograde from civilisation, and their influence restrained many who otherwise would have gone. Not a single clergyman joined the movement.

Most of the emigrants abandoned the colony in parties or bands, each under an elected leader termed a commandant. The first to leave was a little band from the district of Albany, consisting of Louis Triechard with wife and four children, Carel Triechard with wife and two children, Hendrik Botha with wife and five children, J. Pretorius with wife and four children, G. Scheepers with wife and nine children, H. Strydom with wife and five children, J. Albrecht with wife and five children, and a young man named Daniel Pfeffer. Louis Triechard, who was the leader of this party, was a man of violent temper, and had given vent to his animosity to the imperial government in such blustering language that he was regarded by the colonial authorities as capable even of joining the Kaffirs against the English. At the close of the war, Colonel Smith offered a reward of five hundred head of cattle for his apprehension, which led to his leaving at once.

This party was joined before it crossed the colonial border by another of equal size, consisting of Jan van Rensburg, as leader, with wife and four children, S. Bronkhorst with wife and six children, G. Bronkhorst the elder with wife and one child, G. Bronkhorst the younger with wife, Jacobus de Wet with wife, F. van Wyk with wife and two children, P. Viljoen with wife and six children, H. Aukamp with wife and three children, N. Prins with wife and eight children, and M. Prins.

Together they had thirty waggons. After crossing the frontier they continued their course northward, travelling just as suited their inclination or convenience, until they reached the place now known as Potgieter's Rust, in the Zoutpansberg, where they arrived in May 1836. In passing through the vast almost uninhabited waste beyond the Orange river they had escaped the observation of Moselekatse's warriors, and had met so few blacks that they considered themselves quite secure. The men hunted game constantly on horseback, and had seen vast areas of land suited for settlement, but as they wished to open communication with the outer world through Delagoa Bay, they had gone on until they believed themselves to be in the latitude of that port.

At the Zoutpansberg they halted while the young men explored the country around, which they considered admirably adapted for stock-breeding and agriculture. They were in ignorance that Moselekatse's kraals were only two hundred and fifty miles to the south-west, and of the ferocity of the Matabele they likewise knew nothing, or they would not have been so satisfied with the locality. They were almost at the mouth of a lion's den, and yet were in such utter carelessness that after a short time the two bands separated, in order that each might have a district of its own.

Rensburg's party moved eastward, and from that time nothing certain is known of the events that happened to it. It was said by some blacks in after years that it fell in

with a band of Magwamba robbers, who murdered men, women, and children alike, but just when and where this occurred could never be ascertained. In August 1867 a white man and woman, who spoke no language but that of the Eastern Bantu, and whose habits were those of barbarians, were sent to Commandant Coetzer, of Lydenburg, by a Swazi chief who had obtained them from the Magwamba. They could tell nothing of their history beyond their residence among the Bantu, and did not even know their European names or those of their parents; but as they had never seen other whites that they could remember, it was concluded that they were the sole survivors of Rensburg's party, and that they must have been very young when their relatives were murdered. They had been treated by the blacks as superior beings, and had never done any work, as food was always provided for them. For some time they had lived as man and wife, and had two children when they were rescued.

After resting a few months at the Zoutpansberg, Triechard's party resolved to explore the country between them and Delagoa Bay, and then return and settle permanently in the goodly locality they had found. They had no idea of the distance they would have to travel or of the obstacles in their way, and they considered it necessary to acquire that information. They were in reality about two hundred and ten miles in a straight line from Lourenço Marques, which lay almost due south-east, for without knowing it they had gone fully a hundred and twenty miles farther north than its latitude. So far they had enjoyed excellent health, as after passing the Stormberg they had been on the high plateau, and travelling from south to north they had not met with any serious obstacles. They were now to have a very different experience.

They reached the edge of the plateau safely, and commenced to descend to the terraces along the coast, but here they were attacked by fever, which carried off several of their number and for a time prostrated all the others. The

country was more densely wooded than that they had left behind, and the grass was so thick and high that travelling was extremely difficult, besides which the edges of the terraces were so precipitous that it was with the greatest difficulty they could get down. Fortunately, great herds of buffaloes and other large game were always to be seen, so that they were in no want of animal food.

On entering the forest country they observed an insect a little larger than a common fly settling on their cattle, but they paid hardly any attention to it at first, for they had never heard of the tsetse, whose sting is death to the horse and ox. Seeing the zebras and buffaloes, animals so like their own, in vast numbers roaming about unharmed, they could not suspect the destructive power of the fly. But soon the domestic cattle began to pine away and at length to die, when the unfortunate people found themselves in a deplorable condition. Their only hope now was in reaching Delagoa Bay, and by dint of almost superhuman exertions, in April 1838 those who still remained alive arrived at Lourenço Marques, where the Portuguese had recently rebuilt a fort. There they met with unbounded hospitality.

At Lourenço Marques they remained more than a year, their number constantly diminishing by fever. At length their friends, hearing where and in what condition they were, chartered the schooner *Mazeppa* to proceed to Delagoa Bay to their relief, and in July 1839 the remnant of the party, consisting of Mrs. H. Botha and five children, Mrs. G. Scheepers and five children, Mrs. J. Pretorius and two children, three young men, and seven orphan children, were landed in Natal. One young man, a son of Louis Triechard, had gone to Mozambique in a Portuguese vessel before the *Mazeppa* reached the bay, but in the following year he managed to travel overland to his friends in Natal. Thus of the ninety-eight individuals who formed the first body of emigrants all had perished except the twenty-six who reached Natal in a state of destitution and the two still more wretched who were living with the blacks.

During the winter of 1836 preparations for emigration were being made all over the eastern and northern districts. The government was perfectly helpless in the matter. The attorney-general, Mr. A. Oliphant, was consulted by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and gave his opinion that "it seemed next to an impossibility to prevent persons passing out of the colony by laws in force or by any which could be framed." On the 19th of August Sir Benjamin wrote to the lieutenant-governor that "he could see no means of stopping the emigration except by persuasion and attention to the wants and necessities of the farmers." In that direction the governor had done all that was in his power, but he could not act in opposition to the instructions of the secretary of state. Captain Stockenstrom himself, in replying to an address from the inhabitants of Uitenhage, stated that "he was not aware of any law which prevented any of his Majesty's subjects from leaving his dominions and settling in another country, and such a law, if it did exist, would be tyrannical and oppressive."

Before this time the second party of emigrants had left. It consisted of farmers from the Tarka, and was under Commandant Andries Hendrik Potgieter, a substantial burgher of kindly disposition and moderate views. Attached to this party, and acknowledging Potgieter as chief commandant, was a body of burghers from the neighbourhood of the village of Colesberg. The subsequent sufferings of this section of the party, and the events which those sufferings gave rise to, entitle it to particular notice. It consisted of Carel Cilliers with his wife and six children, Jan du Toit with his family, Jan Botha with his family, three families Kruger, eight families Liebenberg, four families Broekhuizen, four families Brits, and three families Van Rensburg. These did not all move out in one body, but about half of them joined Potgieter and went on in advance, and the others followed as fast as they could get away.

Commandant Potgieter directed his course northward past Thaba Ntshu until he came to the Vet river. On its

banks, close to the site of the present village of Winburg, he found a remnant of the Bataung tribe under the chief Makwana. Makwana claimed the whole country between the Vet and Vaal rivers as having once been in possession of his tribe, but he was then in an abject condition, poor, powerless, and afraid to do anything that might draw upon him the notice of Moselekatse. Under these circumstances he was ready to enter into an arrangement with Potgieter, by which he ceded to the emigrants all the land between the Vet and Vaal rivers, except a tract which he reserved for the use of his own people, upon condition of being protected from the Matabele and provided with a small herd of cattle. This arrangement having been concluded the emigrants in fancied security scattered themselves over the vacant country, and some of them even crossed the Vaal and went down along its northern bank to the junction of a stream which they named the Mooi.

The territory stretching northward to the Limpopo was to them an unknown land, though English people were acquainted with its features from accounts of explorers and traders. As early as 1829 the reverend Robert Moffat, of the London missionary society, travelled from Kuruman to the kraal of Moselekatse, about a hundred miles east of the present town of Zeerust. In 1832 a trader named Whittle travelled from Grahamstown to the Limpopo where its course is to the northwest beyond the Magalisberg. In 1835 the territory in that direction was explored by the expedition under Dr. Andrew Smith, and also by Mr. Andrew Geddes Bain, who was then trying to trade, but whose property was seized by the Matabele owing to the misconduct of his Griqua servants. By these travellers reports were received of Lake Ngami, and Dr. Smith was only prevented from pushing on to that sheet of water by the overdrawn statements of the Betshuana concerning the perils of the intervening desert. In February 1836 the trader David Hume returned to Grahamstown from a journey along the Limpopo to the place where it passes through the

eastern mountains in its way to the sea. He brought back an account of the regions he had visited, of the damages caused by the tsetse, and descriptions of the country as far as the lake received from numerous natives. During the early months of 1836 Captain Sutton and Lieutenant Moultrie, of the 75th regiment, and also Captain Cornwallis Harris, on furlough from India, hunted along the Limpopo. In every case, the individuals here named proceeded first to Moselekatse's kraal, propitiated that chief with presents, and obtained his permission to go farther.

On the 24th of May 1836 a party consisting of the commandant Hendrik Potgieter, his brother Hermanus Potgieter, Messrs. Carel Cilliers, J. G. S. Bronkhorst, R. Jansen, L. van Vuuren, A. Swanepoel, J. Roberts, A. de Lange, D. Opperman, H. Nieuwenhuizen, and C. Liebenberg, left the Sand river for the purpose of inspecting the country as far as Delagoa Bay. During the first eighteen days of their journey they met no one, but after passing Rhenoster Poort they found a few scattered inhabitants. To the eastward the land appeared exceedingly rugged, and they observed no opening that promised an easy route to the sea, so they pushed on to the north until they reached Louis Triechard's camp at the Zoutpansberg. Not far from this place—in their account they use the expression "opposite to it"—they were shown what they termed a gold mine, and they saw rings of that metal made by native workmen.

Wherever they met blacks they observed quantities of manufactured iron, a certain proof of an abundance of the ore close at hand. Game in the greatest variety and in vast numbers was everywhere encountered.* The flora in the north differed in some respects from that they had been accustomed to. Strange trees in particular gave them cause

* The prodigious quantity of game in the territory between the Orange and Limpopo rivers can hardly be realised since it has nearly all been destroyed. Some idea may be formed from the fact that before September 1837 two hundred and forty-nine lions were killed by the emigrants in the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu alone, and in other localities they were even more numerous.

for wonder, and they looked with something like awe upon the wide-spreading baobab. But they were simple farmers, and that which struck them most was the richness of the grasses, surpassing anything they knew of even in the best parts of the Cape Colony.

From Triechard's camp they turned back, and after seven days' travelling towards the south-east came to a kraal of the Magwamba, a tribe that had for its distinguishing mark a peculiarly ugly puncturing of the face, on which account the travellers called them Knobnoses, a name by which they are still known. At this kraal they met two half-breed sons of that Coenraad du Buis who has often been mentioned in preceding chapters. Du Buis remained at Swellendam, where General Janssens required him to live, until early in the year 1815, when he again fled from civilisation, and took up his abode near Klaarwater—now Griquatown—north of the Orange river. Here he acted as a freebooter. Suspecting that an expedition was on the way to arrest him, he fled farther northward, and spent the remainder of his life in the country along the Limpopo. His gigantic frame, his reckless courage, the iron strength of his constitution, and his perfect familiarity with Bantu customs enabled him to become a leader among the barbarians. Wherever he went he took to himself female companions. Of his many sons, two, whose European names were Doris and Carel Buys, were living at the Magwamba kraal when Commandant Potgieter visited it, and they formed a link of communication between the two races.

At this kraal the travellers saw both Indian and European calicoes, different kinds of cloth, shawls, and even straw hats, which had been obtained in exchange for ivory. Some blacks from Lourenço Marques, who could speak Portuguese, were there trading at the time. They stated that there were vessels then waiting in Delagoa Bay until they should return with the ivory which they were collecting. This intelligence was very satisfactory to the farmers. The open uninhabited country to the westward would be an admirable place for a

settlement, and communication with the outer world could be had through the port from which these traders came.

They were now anxious to return to their families, so without inspecting the route to Delagoa Bay, they set out again towards the south. On the 2nd of September they arrived at the spot where they had left the last encampment on their outward journey, and found that a dreadful massacre had just taken place.

It had been committed in the following manner. Mr. Stephanus P. Erasmus, who lived near the Kraai river in the present district of Aliwal North, had got up a party to hunt elephants, and had gone some distance north of the Vaal for that purpose. The hunting party consisted of Erasmus himself, his three sons, Pieter Bekker and his son, Jan Claasen, and Carel Kruger. They had with them a number of coloured servants, five waggons, eighty oxen, and about fifty horses. They had not been very successful, and were slowly returning homeward, still hunting by the way. One morning they left the waggons and cattle as usual in charge of the servants, and in three small parties rode away in different directions. In the evening Erasmus and one of his sons, who were together during the day, returned to the waggons and found them surrounded by five or six hundred Matabele soldiers, who had been sent out by Moselekatse to scour the country. It was ascertained long afterwards that the other two sons of Erasmus and Carel Kruger, who formed a separate hunting party, had been surprised by the Matabele and murdered. The Bekkers and Claasen were out in another direction, and when the Matabele came upon them they were some distance from each other. The first two escaped, the last was never heard of again.

Erasmus and the son who was with him rode for their lives towards the nearest party of emigrants, who they knew were not farther off than five hours on horseback. They obtained the assistance of eleven men, and were proceeding to ascertain the fate of the others, when they encountered a division of the Matabele army, and turned

back to give notice to those behind. The families farthest in advance had hardly time to draw their waggons in a circle and collect within it, when the Matabele were upon them. From ten in the morning until four in the afternoon the assailants vainly endeavoured to force a way into the lager, and did not relinquish the attempt until fully a third of their number were stretched on the ground. Of thirty-five men within the lager, only one, Adolf Bronkhorst, was killed, but a youth named Christiaan Harmse and several coloured servants, who were herding cattle and collecting fuel at a distance, were murdered.

In the meantime another party of the Matabele had gone farther up the river, and had unexpectedly fallen upon the encampment of the Liebenbergs. They murdered there old Barend Liebenberg, the patriarch of the family, his sons Stephanus, Barend, and Hendrik, his son-in-law Jan du Toit, his daughter, Du Toit's wife, his son Hendrik's wife, a schoolmaster named Macdonald, four children, and twelve coloured servants; and they carried away three children to present to their chief. The two divisions of Matabele warriors then united, and returned to Mosega to procure reinforcements, taking with them large herds of the emigrants' cattle.

To an Englishman who visited him shortly afterwards Moselekatse tried to make it appear that the massacre was committed in mistake by his soldiers. He told Captain Sutton that his men were sent against the Koranas under Jan Bloem, who were in the habit of making sudden raids upon his cattle posts, and that they believed the farmers to be Bloem's people. But this was evidently an attempt to find an excuse for a deed that he had reason to fear would not remain unavenged. The soldiers were not so stupid as to confound white people with Koranas, nor will the place where the farmers were attacked admit of the supposition that Jan Bloem was being sought for.

Six days after the assault upon the lager, Erasmus, in his anxiety as to the fate of his sons, rode to the spot where

his waggons had stood, and found there nothing but the bodies of five of his servants. His waggons were seen at Mosega by Captain Harris a few days later, and the same traveller learned that two of the captive children, being girls, had been taken to one of Moselekatse's residences farther north. He does not seem to have heard of the captive boy. At that time the emigrants themselves were ignorant that the children were still alive, as until Captain Harris's return they believed that all had been murdered.

As soon as the Matabele were out of sight, the farmers hastened across the Vaal, and formed a lager at the place since known as Vechtkop, between the Rhenoster and Wilge rivers. The lager was constructed of fifty waggons drawn up in a circle, firmly lashed together, and every opening except a narrow entrance closed with thorn trees.

The month of October was well advanced when one morning a few frightened Bataung rushed into the camp and announced that a great Matabele army was approaching. Immediately the horses were saddled, and after a short religious service conducted by Mr. Carel Cilliers, the farmers rode out with Commandant Potgieter at their head, and encountered a division of Moselekatse's forces, about five thousand strong, under Kalipi, Moselekatse's favourite captain. Riding close up, they poured a volley into the mass of savages, and then retired to reload their clumsy guns. This manœuvre they repeated, constantly falling back, until the lager was reached.

The Matabele now thought they had the farmers in a trap, and encircling the camp, they sat down at some distance from it and feasted their eyes with a sight of their intended victims. After a while they suddenly rose, and with a loud hiss, their ordinary signal of destruction, they rushed upon the lager and endeavoured to force an entrance. There were only forty men and boys capable of using fire-arms,—among whom was a lad named Paul Kruger,—inside, but luckily they had spare guns, and the women knew how to load them. The assailants were received with a deadly

fire, and fell back, but only to rush on again. The waggons were lashed together too firmly to be moved, and finding it impossible to get to close quarters, the foremost Matabele soldiers abandoned their usual method of fighting, and hurled their assagais into the lager. One thousand one hundred and thirteen of these weapons were afterwards picked up in the camp. By this means they managed to kill two of the defenders, Nicolaas Potgieter and Pieter Botha, and to wound twelve others more or less severely. Still the fire kept up by those who remained was so hot that Kalipi judged it expedient to withdraw, and in less than half-an-hour after the first rush the Matabele turned to retreat. They collected the whole of the cattle belonging to the emigrants, however, and drove them off, leaving not a hoof except the horses which the farmers had been riding and which were within the camp.

Potgieter with his little band followed them until sunset, and managed to shoot a good many, but could not recover the cattle. On their return to the camp, they counted a hundred and fifty-five corpses close to the waggons. Altogether, the Matabele had now killed twenty whites and twenty-six persons of colour, and had swept off a hundred horses, four thousand six hundred head of horned cattle, and more than fifty thousand sheep and goats.

Just at this time the first families of the third party of emigrants from the colony arrived in the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu. This party came from the district of Graaff-Reinet, and was under the leadership of Mr. Gerrit Maritz, who had previously been the proprietor of a large waggon-making establishment, and was a man of considerable wealth. They had not less than one hundred waggons with them, and as their flocks and herds were very numerous, they were obliged to travel slowly and to spread over a great extent of country. Almost the first information of the earlier emigrants which came to their ears after they crossed the Orange was brought by Hermanus Potgieter to Thaba Ntshu, to which place he was sent by his brother to seek assistance

for the families at Vechtkop, who were left in a helpless condition by the loss of their cattle.

The reverend Mr. Archbell, Wesleyan missionary at Thaba Ntshu, spared no exertions to procure aid for his suffering fellow Christians. Through his influence, Moroko supplied some oxen, the missionary sent his own, the emigrants in the neighbourhood went with theirs, and by these combined means the whole of Potgieter's camp was brought back to Thaba Ntshu. Upon the arrival of the distressed people, Moroko treated them with great kindness. He gave them corn, and even lent them a few cows to supply their children with milk.

Another massacre, but from which a very different class of people suffered, took place at this time about a day's journey south-east of Thaba Ntshu. The Xosa chief Jalusa, who professed to be a dependent of Hintsa, after the conclusion of peace with the colony in September 1835 collected a band of turbulent characters in which there were many of the Imidange clan, and migrated with them to the country near Thaba Bosigo. There he commenced to plunder outlying Basuto kraals, and would not desist, though Moshesh made the most friendly overtures. For several months the Basuto submitted to this treatment, but their patience becoming exhausted, one night in the month of September 1836 they surrounded Jalusa's encampment, and when the sun rose next morning between a thousand and twelve hundred corpses of all ages were lying on the ground. Tshunongwa, who was believed to be the actual murderer of the elder Stockenstrom, was among the number. Only five men and three women escaped. They managed to break through the circle of death-dealing Basuto, and conveyed to Kaffirland tidings of the fate of their companions.

On the 2nd of December 1836 a general assembly of the emigrants was held for the purpose of deciding upon the form of their future government. They resolved to elect a body of seven members, which should have supreme legislative power. The choice of the electors fell upon

Messrs. Gerrit Marthinus Maritz, Andries Hendrik Potgieter, Jan Gerrit Bronkhorst, Christiaan Jacobus Liebenberg, Pieter Greyling, Daniel Kruger, and Stephanus Janse van Vuuren, who constituted the first volksraad. It was decided also that the same persons should form a court of justice, in which Maritz should sit as landdrost and the others as heemraden.

The question where they were to settle was not discussed. The country to the north as far as Mosega was almost without inhabitants, but it was evident that Moselekatse was determined to keep it in that condition. While his power lasted, it was therefore useless to think of trying to establish themselves anywhere in that direction in peace.

At Thaba Ntshu the emigrants were in the territory occupied by the Barolong, of whom Moroko was by far the most important chief, though there were others who claimed to be higher in rank. All of them were delighted to find the white people involved in difficulties with the Matabele, those destroyers of the Betshuana tribes, as a prospect of deliverance from the fear which rested upon them was thereby opened.

To the eastward the various little communities under Moshesh at Thaba Bosigo, Sikonyela at Imparani, Gert Taaibosch at Merumetsu, Carolus Baatje at Platberg, and Peter Davids at Lishuane, were in the state described in a preceding chapter. Lepui and his Batlapin were at Bethulie, away to the south-west, on the right bank of the Orange.

About equi-distant from Thaba Ntshu and Bethulie, in the preceding year a mission station had been founded close to the Caledon, at the place called Zevenfontein. The farmers who had been living there had gone to the assistance of the colony against the Kaffirs, and during their absence the ground they had occupied was taken possession of by the French missionary society. The reverend Mr. Rolland had left Motito to the sole care of Mr. Lemue, and moved to Zevenfontein with a horde of refugees,

composed partly of Bahurutsi who had once lived at Mosega and partly of the remnant of a Barolong clan under a petty chief named Moi. For agricultural purposes Zevenfontein was vastly superior to any locality that could be selected in the Betshuana country, it was close to the other stations of the French society, and it was a long way from Moselekatse. For these reasons it was selected by Mr. Rolland. It was not within Moshesh's jurisdiction, but Mr. Rolland considered it convenient to acknowledge his authority as paramount, and the station became a kind of semi-independent fief of the Basuto chief. Subsequently also several little bands of Basuto origin settled there. Mr. Rolland changed the name Zevenfontein to Beersheba.

A few months before the arrival of the emigrants at Thaba Ntshu, the various chiefs along the Caledon were visited by a scientific and exploring expedition under Dr. Andrew Smith, sent out under the patronage of the Cape government, but at the expense of a body of subscribers. Dr. Smith was provided with medals attached to chains, and presented one each to Moshesh, Sikonyela, Moroko, Lepui, Peter Davids, Carolus Baatje, and Gert Taaibosch. The chiefs regarded these medals as assurances that the colonial government recognised them as the rightful rulers of their respective communities. They all declared to Dr. Smith that they were desirous of friendly relations, and anxious that white people should visit them from time to time for the purpose of trading. No formal agreement was concluded, however. In order to make a distinction between the more and less powerful chiefs, Dr. Smith presented to Moshesh, Sikonyela, and Moroko each an ornamented cloak.

The expedition visited the Batlapin chief Mothibi, who was found living on the right bank of the Vaal below its junction with the Hart, and who, like the others, was pleased with being recognised by the Cape government.

Dr. Smith proceeded to Mosega, and was well received by Moselekatse. He took the precaution not only to send messengers in advance to announce his approach and to

inform the chief that he was coming on a mission of friendship from the Cape government, but to wait for leave to do so. Thus the pride of the Matabele ruler was flattered, and his suspicions were dispelled. Probably if the expedition had entered his country as Erasmus's party did, it would have met with a similar fate.

Moselekatse was found as ready as any of the petty captains along the Caledon with expressions of good-will. He received with pleasure the presents offered—a medal with a chain, two large mirrors, and two ornamented cloaks —and when the expedition left, he sent with it to Capetown one of his favourite indunas, named Nombate, with four attendants, to greet the white man's chief.

On the 3rd of March 1836 a treaty was signed in Capetown by Sir Benjamin D'Urban on the one part and by Nombate, on behalf of Moselekatse, on the other, by the terms of which the Matabele chief engaged to be a faithful friend and ally of the colony, to maintain peace, to protect white people visiting his country, to encourage missionaries, and generally to act as a promoter of civilisation. The governor made similar engagements, and further undertook to supply suitable presents periodically. Nombate returned to Mosega delighted with his reception, and laden with gifts, but without a thought that his chief had incurred any responsibility by his having put his hand upon a pen while a mark was made.

The party to which Lord Glenelg belonged, however, regarded such documents as having the same value and importance as those entered into between civilised powers, and thus at the time when the emigrant farmers came into collision with the Matabele, that tribe was spoken of as being in alliance with the colony.

As soon as possible the commandants Potgieter and Maritz assembled a force for the purpose of punishing Moselekatse. The Griqua captain Peter Davids eagerly tendered the services of his followers, in hope that the expedition might effect the release of his daughter and his

nephew. Matlabe, the petty Barolong chief who had once been a soldier in the Matabele army, volunteered to be the guide, and a few Koranas and Barolong engaged their services with a view to sharing the spoil. As ultimately made up, the force consisted of one hundred and seven farmers on horseback, forty of Peter David's Griquas and five or six Koranas, also on horseback, and sixty Barolong *

* This does not agree with statements made of late years on behalf of Montsiwa, in which his father Tawane is represented as having entered into alliance with Potgieter and as having furnished a powerful contingent on the express understanding that he should have the whole "country of Tao" restored to him. The authority on which I give the total number of Barolong that accompanied the commando is the following:—

In an account of their proceedings drawn up by the leaders of the emigrants at the Sand river on the 3rd of December 1838, and addressed to Sir George Napier, it is stated that "slight assistance" was received from Moroko, Peter Davids, and Sikonyela, but Tawane is not even mentioned.

Mr. Gerrit Maritz, who having quarrelled with Mr. Potgieter took the whole credit of the expedition to himself, in a letter which he wrote to a friend on the 17th of March 1837, and which was immediately published in several of the colonial newspapers, says: "Ik ben uitgetrokken tegen Masselikatse met 107 man burgers, benevens 40 bastaards en 60 man van de Marolesen."

Captain Harris, who had just returned from Moselekatse's country and who was well acquainted with all the circumstances, in his account in *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa* states it as "sixty armed savages on foot."

Judge Cloete, in his *Five Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers*, gives the number of the entire commando as two hundred, without saying in what proportions the force was composed.

The reverend Mr. Grout, in his *Zululand*, follows Harris and says "sixty armed savages on foot," and as he like Judge Cloete had the very best means of information concerning this event, while the sources of their knowledge were different, if this was an error and the party had been a large one he would most likely have corrected it.

Mr. Carel Cilliers, who accompanied both this and the next expedition against Moselekatse, in his journal published in H. J. Hofstede's *Geschiedenis van den Oranje Vrijstaat*, never once mentions auxiliaries. He says: "En de nood drong ons dat wij met 107 man het ondernam om tegen de magtige vijand op te trekken, en onze God gaf hem in onze handen, dat wij hem een groot nederlaag gaf en 6,000 beesten van hem namen, en niet een van ons gemis."

Mr. G. J. Kruger, who was with both this expedition and the one in the following November, in an account of the emigration written in February 1852 for the assistant commissioners Hogg and Owen, does not allude to assistance from blacks on either occasion. His account remained in manuscript among the documents relating to the Orange River Sovereignty

on foot, belonging in about equal numbers to the clans of Gontse, Tawane, Moroko, and Matlabe.

Under Matlabe's guidance the commando pursued its march through a country so desolate that after crossing the Vaal not a single individual was met, and the approach of a hostile force was quite unknown to the Matabele. At early dawn on the morning of the 17th of January 1837 the military camp in the valley of Mosega was surprised. This camp consisted of fifteen separate kraals, and was under command of the induna Kalipi, who happened at the time to be away at Kapayin fifty miles farther north.

Seven months earlier, three American missionaries — Dr. Wilson and the reverend Messrs. Lindley and Venable—had taken up their residence at Mosega with Moselekatse's permission. The chief had met Christian teachers before, but had never comprehended even the first principles of the doctrines which they endeavoured to expound. As soon as he ascertained that the preaching of the American missionaries was against his actions he forbade his people to listen to them, and shortly afterwards he left Mosega and went to reside at Kapayin. The missionaries had been attacked by fever, and some members of their families had

until 1886, when at my instance it was published in the *Zuid Afrikaansche Tijdschrift.*

Mr. J. G. van Vuuren, who was with the commando, in his evidence before the Bloemhof commissioners in 1871, says: "About forty coloured people with us under Matlabe."

Matlabe himself, in his evidence on the same occasion, says: "Tawane gave two sons, Gontse also gave two of his sons; Tawane's sons took a small number of Kaffirs with them, also Gontse's sons, and I took fourteen, including myself; Moroko did not send any men, but three of his men joined us afterwards."

Against all this evidence, in addition to the overwhelming testimony of subsequent events, the advocates of Montsiwa have to support their views nothing but a letter from Mrs. Erasmus Smit, who was in the emigrant camp at the time, and who wrote to her son in overdrawn language of "een groot aantal ruiters van Marokke" helping them; the evidence of Moroko at Bloemhof, in which he says "we mustered a great many men"; and the assertions of some of Montsiwa's followers made for the first time more than a quarter of a century after the event, when they had long been under the tuition of a European fabricator of fictitious statements.

died; but they still continued at their post, hoping and praying for an opportunity to carry on the work to which they had devoted themselves. On the morning of the 17th of January they were awakened by the report of guns, and rushing out of their hut they saw clouds of smoke rising above the entrances of two of the passes into the valley, indicating the position of the farmers under Potgieter and Maritz.

The Matabele soldiers grasped their spears and shields, and rushed forward; but volleys of slugs from the long elephant guns of the farmers drove them back in confusion. Their commanding officer was away, and there was no one of sufficient authority to restore order. The soldiers took to flight, and were hunted by the farmers until the sun was high overhead, when it was computed that at least four hundred must have been slain. The commando then set fire to the kraals. Most of the waggons that had belonged to the slaughtered emigrants were found there, and six or seven thousand head of cattle were seized. With this spoil Potgieter and Maritz considered it advisable to return to the Caledon rather than to follow up their victory. Not a single individual, European or black, had been hurt on their side. The missionaries and their families left Mosega with the commando, feeling that to remain with the Matabele would only be exposing themselves to danger, without the remotest likelihood of their being able to effect more good in the future than in the past. The Barolong auxiliaries acted as herdsmen, and received payment in cattle for their services. Matlabe, in his evidence at Bloemhof, stated that he "got forty-seven head, and Tawane's and Gontse's sons each thirty-seven head; he received the most cattle because he was the leading man and the guide."

After returning from Mosega, Potgieter removed from the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu to the Vet river, and formed his camp at a place to which he gave the name Winburg, from the recent victory. There his party was strengthened by the arrival of numerous families from the colony. In a

short time some of them erected rough cottages, and thus the foundation of a permanent village was laid. Unfortunately, jealousy of each other, an evil which was afterwards prominent among the emigrants, already began to appear. Potgieter and Maritz quarrelled, and party feeling was bitter and strong.

In April 1837 another band arrived in the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu. It came from the Winterberg, and consisted of Pieter Retief and family, James Edwards and family, three families Greyling, seven families Van Rensburg, two families Malan, three families Viljoen, one family Meyer, one family Van Dyk, two families Joubert, one family Dreyer, three families Van Staden, and a schoolmaster named Alfred Smith, in all one hundred and eight individuals, besides servants.

Mr. Pieter Retief, who was its leader, traced his descent from one of the Huguenots who fled from France after the revocation of the edict of Nantes and came to South Africa in 1688. He was born and brought up near the present village of Wellington, but when still young removed to the eastern frontier. In 1820 when the British settlers arrived he was living in Grahamstown, and was considered to be the wealthiest man in the district of Albany, as also one of the most honourable. Being brought into close contact with the leading settlers, he soon acquired their confidence and esteem. Subsequently heavy losses in building contracts reduced his circumstances, and he then went to reside at the Winterberg, where the war of 1834-5 still further impoverished him. At this time he was a commandant, and had proved himself a man of ability in the field. His remonstrances against the policy pursued towards the Kaffirs brought him into disfavour with Captain Stockenstrom, who wrote to him in such a style as to create much irritation. He then resolved to leave the colony, and was elected by the intending emigrants from the Winterberg to be their head. A document embodying the reasons for emigrating was drawn up by him, and was published in the *Grahamstown Journal*, upon which the

lieutenant-governor officially announced that he was dismissed from the position of commandant because he had signed it.

On the 6th of June 1837 there was a mass meeting of emigrants at Winburg, when a new volksraad was elected, and the chief executive power was entrusted to Mr. Retief, with the title of governor and commandant-general. The legislative power was vested in the volksraad, of which Mr. Maritz was elected president, and Messrs. J. G. L. Bronkhorst, E. F. Liebenberg, P. J. Greyling, L. S. van Vuuren, and M. Oosthuizen were chosen members. It was decided that Mr. Maritz should continue to perform the duties of landdrost, with six heemraden to assist him in difficult cases. Nine articles were agreed upon as a kind of provisional constitution. In these the emigrants bound themselves to show respect and obedience to the officers whom they had chosen, and to abide by the old Dutch laws of the colony in all matters not provided for by special enactment of the volksraad.

One of the articles demands particular notice. It was to the effect that every member of the community and all who should thereafter join them must take a solemn oath to have no connection with the London missionary society. It must be clearly understood that by this was meant the political and social principles professed by the reverend Dr. Philip and some of the agents of that society in South Africa, and that it had no reference whatever to religion or religious instruction given to coloured people. The phrase "London missionary society" had to the farmers long ceased to have any other than a political signification, implying anarchy and the social equality of civilised Europeans and naked savages. It was regarded by them as something like blasphemy to speak of Dr. Philip as a teacher of the Gospel. In point of fact, there were several missionaries of this society for whom as individuals they had the highest esteem, and who at any time would have been heartily welcomed in their midst, as had frequently been the case in the colony. But these missionaries confined themselves to instructing the coloured

people in religious truths and the improvement of their condition, without interfering in political matters or questions affecting the right of all persons to social equality. The meeting at which these articles were adopted and the oath as here described was taken was opened and closed with prayer and the singing of psalms, as was indeed all other public gatherings of the emigrants.

Mr. Retief's first task was to compose the quarrel between Potgieter and Maritz, and he apparently succeeded in restoring friendship between them, though it only lasted a short season. His next care was for the observance of public worship. There was no ordained clergyman among the emigrants, but there was an old missionary teacher named Erasmus Smit and he was engaged to conduct the services. Mr. Retief then visited the chiefs Moroko, Tawane, Moshesh, and Sikonyela, and entered into agreements of mutual friendship with them.

While these arrangements were being made, the number of the emigrants was rapidly increasing. They were arriving by single families as well as in parties. One large band, under Mr. Pieter Jacobs, came from the district of Beaufort. Another, under Mr. Jacobus Uys, came from Uitenhage. It numbered more than a hundred souls, and was composed entirely of Mr. Uys's sons and daughters with their wives and husbands, children and grandchildren, for the leader was nearly seventy years of age. He was one of the most widely respected men in South Africa. His son Pieter Lavras Uys had won the admiration of the British settlers by his gallant conduct in the Kaffir war, and when the party reached Grahamstown on its way towards the border, the residents of that place testified their sympathy by a public deputation which in the name of the community presented a large and very handsome bible to the old man.

There were now more than a thousand waggons between the Caledon and Vaal rivers, and four or five hundred armed men could be mustered. Mr. Retief sent word to Moselekatse that if everything taken from the emigrants was

restored, he would agree to peace, but as no answer was returned he prepared to send another expedition against the Matabele. Sikonyela, Moroko, and Tawane, seeing the white people in strength, offered their services, which Mr. Retief declined with thanks, as he knew from experience how impossible it would be to satisfy the demands of such allies. The expedition, however, was prevented from proceeding by rumours that the Griquas of Waterboer and Kok were preparing to attack the emigrants.

About this time, possibly a month earlier or a month later, Dingan, Tshaka's successor, sent an army against Moselekatse. The Matabele were defeated by the Zulus in a great battle, in which one of their regiments perished almost to a man. They saw their cattle in possession of the conquerors; but they had courage and discipline enough to rally, and by another engagement they managed to recover some of their herds. The Zulus then retreated to their own country, taking with them among the captured cattle some oxen and sheep that had once belonged to the farmers.

In the spring of 1837 the quarrel between Potgieter and Maritz was revived, and the whole of the emigrants were affected by it. Retief found it impossible to restore concord. From this time onward for some years jealousies were so rife, and party feeling ran so high, that it is not safe to take the statement of any individual among them as an accurate version of occurrences. Even the account of Mr. J. N. Boshof, their calmest and best writer, is distorted by partisan feeling. These jealousies caused the secession of a large number of the refugees from the principal body under Mr. Retief. The parties of Potgieter and Uys resolved to set up distinct governments of their own, the first on the ground purchased from Makwana, the last somewhere in Natal. To Natal also Retief determined to proceed, and in October he paid a preliminary visit to that district. While he was absent, the second expedition against the Matabele set out.

The commando consisted of two divisions, mustering together one hundred and thirty-five farmers, one division

being under Hendrik Potgieter, the other under Pieter Uys. It was also accompanied by a few Barolong herdsmen, exactly how many it is impossible to ascertain, as they are not even mentioned in any of the contemporary accounts. Matlabe, in his evidence at Bloemhof, said that "he did not go himself, he sent three of his brothers with twenty men, but none of the other captains did that he saw." Mongala, a brother of Matlabe, stated on the same occasion that he "accompanied Hendrik Potgieter and Pieter Uys with the second commando against Moselekatse, and had some Barolong under his command," without mentioning how many. Moroko may have furnished two or three men, but no record can be traced of any having been sent by Gontse or Tawane.

In November 1837 this expedition found Moselekatse on the Marikwa, about fifty miles north of Mosega. The grass was in good condition, and the farmers had taken care in the long march not to weary their horses, which were as fresh now as when they left Winburg. The tactics adopted were the same as at Vechtkop, to form a long line so that no two men would aim at the same object, to ride up swiftly and deliver a volley, and then as swiftly ride away again. The Matabele never had a chance of using their spears. Yet warfare like this, if warfare it can be called, was not without danger to the Europeans, for the failure or loss of a horse would have meant the loss of its owner's life.

For nine days the hunting of the enemy went on, of course only for an hour or two at a time, as it was necessary to go far to rest at night and to keep scouts in all directions while the horses were loose at grass. Then one morning the kraals were found abandoned, and following the trail the farmers had the joy of seeing the entire Matabele host in full flight to the north. By this time the supplies were becoming short, so Potgieter and Uys contented themselves with cutting off a large herd of cattle, with which they returned to Winburg.

The accounts as to the number of Matabele killed on this occasion are very conflicting, both in the documents of the

time and in the relations of the actors many years after the event. Mr. Carel Cilliers, who was with the expedition, in his journal set it down as over three thousand. The reverend Mr. Lindley, who obtained his information from members of the commando, and who wrote immediately after the event, evidently thought four or five hundred would be nearer the mark. His words are: "On returning to his encampment Mr. Retief found that a considerable number of the farmers were absent on an expedition against Moselekatse . . . which had about the same success as the one in January." Between these extremes there are many accounts, no two of which agree in this respect. The fighting—or rather the pursuit of the Matabele soldiers, for no farmer was killed—took place over a large extent of ground, and the dead could not have been counted. The fact remains that the punishment inflicted upon Moselekatse was so severe that he found it necessary to abandon the country he had devastated, and flee to the far north, there to resume on other tribes his previous career of destruction.

Six or seven thousand head of cattle were captured by the expedition, and given over to the Barolong herdsmen to take care of. One night these were surprised by a small party of Matabele, when several lost their lives, and some of the cattle were retaken. In the division of the captured stock the herdsmen were liberally dealt with, Matlabe's people receiving sixty-nine head for their services.

After the flight of Moselekatse, Commandant Potgieter issued a proclamation, in which he declared that the whole of the territory which that chief had overrun and now abandoned was forfeited to the emigrants. It included the greater part of the late South African Republic, fully half of the late Orange Free State, and the whole of Southern Betshuanaland to the Kalahari desert, except the district occupied by the Batlapin. This immense tract of country was then almost uninhabited, and must have remained so if the Matabele had not been driven out.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

EARLY ENGLISH ADVENTURERS AT PORT NATAL.

NATAL, as a geographical name, has not always had the same signification as it has at present. To the Portuguese it meant the country along the coast from about the mouth of the Bashee to the headland known in our times as the Bluff. People wrecked farther south had on several occasions passed by the inlet on the shore of which the town of Durban now stands, in their efforts to reach Delagoa Bay, but there is no instance on record of a Portuguese vessel ever having entered that sheet of water. By English and Dutch navigators the word Natal was applied to the country between the Umzimvubu and Tugela rivers, but as it had never been properly explored, its extent inland was uncertain. In the early years of the nineteenth century the position of the harbour then as now termed Port Natal was well known and correctly marked on maps, though of its capabilities no one was cognizant.

In 1823 some merchants at Capetown formed a joint stock company for the purpose of trading with the natives on the south-eastern coast, and with that object chartered a brig named the *Salisbury*, of which Mr. James Saunders King, who had once been a midshipman in the royal navy, was then master. The *Salisbury* sailed from Table Bay on the 23rd of June 1823. She had on board two members of the company that chartered her: Mr. J. R. Thomson, one of the founders of the Capetown firm of Thomson & Watson, and Mr. Francis George Farewell, previously a lieutenant in the royal navy and a close friend of Mr. King.

On her passage up the coast she put into Algoa Bay, and found there his Majesty's surveying ship *Leven*, under command of Captain Owen. Mr. Farewell went on board the *Leven*, and obtained a good deal of information concerning the coast. Seven Kaffirs, selected by the Cape government from the convicts on Robben Island, had been given to the surveying expedition as interpreters, and two of them, named Fire and Jacob, were transferred with their own consent by Captain Owen to Mr. Farewell. Fire was shortly afterwards accidentally shot, and Jacob managed to run away, but was subsequently met under strange circumstances.

On the 13th of July the *Salisbury* sailed from Algoa Bay. In trying to land on an open beach north of Natal two boats were lost and six men were drowned,* but twelve others got safely to shore. Five weeks elapsed before they could be recovered, the brig having been blown to sea in a gale; but during that time they were well treated by the natives. The *Salisbury* then put back to Algoa Bay for supplies, after which she once more proceeded up the coast, and having found no safe harbour or river that could be entered, she dropped her anchor in the roadstead off Port Natal. While there a strong breeze set in from the south-east, which caused those on board to fear the vessel would be driven on shore. Captain King therefore cut the cable, stood in, and fortunately passed over the bar in safety. After rounding the long spit of sand called the Point, a secure harbour was reached, and Messrs. Farewell and

* This is taken from a letter written by Mr. King to Earl Bathurst on the 10th of July 1824, and from the shipping reports in the Cape *Gazette*. Lieutenant Farewell's account, as given in a letter to Lord Charles Somerset, dated 7th of January 1824, is slightly different, as it gives the number of men drowned as four. In this letter he requests the governor's countenance to his project of establishing a trade with the natives from the Cape frontier to Delagoa Bay. Lord Charles Somerset replied, giving him permission to take with him about twenty-five persons, including principals and servants, and wishing his undertaking success, but informing him that he (the governor) could "not sanction the acquisition of any territorial possessions without a full communication being made to him of the circumstances under which they may be offered and be intended to be received."

Thomson then explored the country around, while Mr. King roughly surveyed the sheet of water and made a chart of it. When this was completed the *Salisbury* sailed again, and on the 3rd of December reached Table Bay.

The voyage was an unfortunate one for the company. Mr. Farewell, however, was so impressed with the capabilities of Natal for colonisation, and of its port as a gateway for trade with the interior of the continent, that he resolved to return and establish himself there. Some twenty-five individuals joined him in the enterprise. They purchased a sloop of thirty tons burden, named the *Julia*, which was intended to ply between Natal and the Cape, and chartered the brig *Antelope* to convey them with their stores and some horses to their destination.

In April 1824* the *Julia* sailed for Natal with a few of the party under the leadership of Mr. Henry Francis Fynn, son of a man who for many years after the English conquest in 1806 kept an inn called the British Hotel, in Long-street, Capetown. During the preceding four years Mr. Fynn had been resident in the district of Albany, and being endowed with much energy was now seeking some place where he could make a home with more satisfactory prospects than the eastern districts of the Cape Colony then appeared to present.

Mr. Farewell with the remainder of the party sailed from Table Bay in the *Antelope* on the 27th of May, and arrived safely at Natal six weeks after the *Julia*. But the hearts of most of the adventurers soon failed them. On the 7th of September Messrs. Hoffman, father and son, Pietersen, Buxman, Collins, Nel, De Bruin, Johnstone, and Davids embarked in the *Julia*, and set sail for the Cape.

The *Julia* returned to Natal, and on the 1st of December sailed again for Algoa Bay with eleven other members of

* In Mr. Fynn's narrative he says he arrived at Natal in the *Julia* in March 1824. But this must be incorrect, for on the 27th of March the *Julia* reached Table Bay from Saldanha Bay with a cargo of grain. See shipping list in the *Cape Gazette*. No notice of her sailing to Natal on this occasion appears in the *Gazette*.

the party. She was never afterwards heard of, and is supposed to have foundered at sea with all on board.

The Europeans at Natal were now completely cut off from intercourse with the outer world. The little party consisted of Messrs. Farewell and Fynn, two men named John Cane and Henry Ogle, and a boy named Thomas Holstead. Of the antecedents of the two last nothing is known. Cane was a man of unusual physical strength, who arrived in Capetown from London in August 1813. After working for a few months as a storeman, he went with Dr. Mackrill to the Somerset farm as a labourer. Then he bound himself to a carpenter, and learned that trade before he joined the Natal party. Mr. Farewell had three Hottentot servants.

A wilder venture can hardly be conceived than that of these few Englishmen. All that they knew of the country around them was that its soil seemed rich, that it abounded with elephants, that it was almost uninhabited, and that Tshaka claimed it. Early in July Mr. Farewell, accompanied by Messrs. Fynn, Pietersen, and several others, visited Tshaka at his principal military kraal, where no European had ever been before. To their surprise they found there the interpreter Jacob, who had run away from the *Salisbury* at St. Lucia Bay, and was supposed to be dead. Jacob, who had received from the Zulus the name Hlambamanzi, was high in Tshaka's favour, and had already a large drove of cattle and several wives. He was obliging enough to commend his former master to his present one, and the Europeans were therefore well received.

When the rest of the party returned to Natal, Mr. Fynn and a Hottentot remained at the kraal. Two days afterwards an attempt was made to assassinate Tshaka while he was dancing, and he received a very severe wound. Fynn, who knew something of surgery, attended him, and by means of ointments and medicines sent by Farewell a rapid cure was effected. Nothing could have happened more opportunely for the interests of the Europeans, as from that time forward Tshaka was their friend.

As soon as the chief was out of danger, Mr. Fynn sent a message to Natal, and Farewell, accompanied by Henry Ogle, three of the crew of the *Julia*, and a Hottentot, proceeded to the kraal to congratulate him upon his escape. Tshaka presented a number of oxen to the party, and attached his mark to a document in which he "granted, made over, and sold unto F. G. Farewell and Company the entire and full possession in perpetuity to themselves, heirs, and executors, of the port or harbour of Natal, together with the islands therein, and surrounding country," which is described as running about a hundred miles inland and embracing the coast ten miles to the south-west and about twenty-five miles to the north-east of the harbour. This deed was dated the 7th of August 1824. It had upon it the marks of Tshaka himself, four of the indunas or officers of rank, among whom Jacob appeared under his Zulu name; and it was signed by the whole of Mr. Farewell's party.

The territory thus ceded was described by Mr. Farewell in a letter to Lord Charles Somerset as containing not more than three or four hundred native inhabitants. They were living in the most wretched condition imaginable, though one of them—a man named Umnini—had once been the head of a powerful clan. On the 27th of August Mr. Farewell hoisted the English flag at the port, fired a royal salute, and in the presence of several of Tshaka's indunas proclaimed the territory ceded to him a British possession.

Meantime Mr. King, the master of the *Salisbury*, had gone to England, and being impressed with the value of Port Natal for trading purposes, applied to Earl Bathurst for countenance in opening an establishment there. The secretary of state was not disposed to furnish active assistance, but wishing to encourage commercial enterprise, he gave Mr. King a letter of recommendation to Lord Charles Somerset. This was equivalent to granting him permission to settle at Natal if he chose to do so on his own responsibility. He came out in a brig named the *Mary*, and brought with him from St. Helena a young man named

Nathaniel Isaacs, whose *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa*, published in 1836, contain a very complete account of the events of the next six years. On the 1st of October 1825 the *Mary* was wrecked on the outer beach while attempting to cross the bar at Port Natal, but no lives were lost. The chief mate and three of the seamen proceeded to Algoa Bay in the longboat; the remainder of the crew, with Messrs. King and Isaacs, joined the little party of white people.

The circumstances in which these Europeans were placed were not favourable to the growth of a civilised community. They were under the dominion of Tshaka, and though they kept him friendly by frequent presents, they were obliged more than once to accompany his armies to war. On one of these occasions, of which Mr. Isaacs has given the particulars, that adventurer himself was severely wounded. The natives who had been living concealed in thickets ventured to place themselves under the protection of the white men, who very shortly became practically petty chiefs, each with his own following.

Mr. Fynn set the example in this respect. In his account he says that they found some three or four hundred blacks in a famishing condition. Tshaka allowed him to collect these poor wretches together, and afterwards to receive some refugees from Zululand upon his reporting each case. Tshaka would not permit any trade whatever with his subjects, and all their business transactions were with him in person. They made him presents, rarely of less value than £100 at a time, and in return he gave them large quantities of ivory and grain and droves of cattle. Mr. Fynn frequently received fifty to a hundred head at a time, and corn in such abundance that he had no use for it. The Xolo tribe had once owned the country between the Umzimkulu and Umtentu rivers, but it was reduced to a few wretched wanderers. Its chief, Umbambe by name, was a soldier in Zululand. Tshaka allowed Mr. Fynn to locate the Xolos on a part of their old territory, and at his

request set Umbambe at liberty.* Mr. Fynn then formed two establishments, one near the port, and one west of the Umzimkulu. To the people of each he gave cattle and grain, which he derived from Tshaka's liberality. After a time the Zulu chief granted him the whole country between Mr. Farewell's district and the Umzimkulu, and attached a mark to a document to that effect. Over that large tract of country he was the chief, and was responsible to Tshaka for the conduct of the people residing in it. Ultimately over five thousand individuals were gathered together under the different Europeans.

A bitter feud soon arose between Farewell and King. They had obtained a considerable quantity of ivory, when a trading vessel put into the bay, and gave them an opportunity of exchanging it for merchandise, principally muskets and ammunition, with which they armed some of their followers.

On the southern shore of the inlet the crew of the *Mary*, under guidance of the carpenter, Mr. Hatton, built from the wreck and native timber a small schooner, which they named the *Elizabeth and Susan*. Mr. King then induced Tshaka to send him with a couple of indunas as an embassy to the Cape government. The little vessel arrived safely in Algoa Bay in April 1828, but the object of the embassy could not be ascertained, for the indunas asserted that they were ignorant of their chief's intentions, and the government declined to receive Mr. King in the character of Tshaka's plenipotentiary. After a stay of nearly three months in Port Elizabeth, the indunas were sent back to Natal in a man-of-war, and Mr. King followed in the schooner.

A few weeks after the return of Mr. King and the indunas, Tshaka sent John Cane with a party of Zulus overland to

* The Xolo tribe is still living where it was located by Mr. Fynn, the district being now part of Alfred County, Natal. Umbambe was succeeded by his son Kani, who got into trouble with the Natal government, and fled into Pondoland, where he died. A few of his followers who entered Pondoland with him then returned to Natal. Patwa, great son of Kani, is the present representative of Umbambe.

greet the governor, and express his thanks for the attention that had been shown to his people. These messengers were forwarded by the officials on the frontier, and reached Cape-town on the 7th of November 1828. Their business was purely formal and complimentary, and neither Cane nor the Zulus with him knew whether Tshaka desired to enter into friendly relationship with the Cape Colony or not, so on the 24th of November Captain Robert Scott Aitchison, of the Cape mounted rifles, was directed to return with them and ascertain what the chief's wishes really were. Before Captain Aitchison could set out, however, tidings of Tshaka's death were received, and his instructions were then countermanded.

The Zulu chief had for some time determined to destroy the tribes between the Umzimvubu and the Cape Colony, and in July 1828 he sent an army against them, which marched unopposed to the Bashee. Tshaka himself, with one regiment as a bodyguard, remained at the Umzimkulu. There Mr. Fynn, by representing that the colonial government would certainly protect the Tembu and Xosa tribes, induced him to recall the army until the result of Mr. King's mission to the Cape could be known.

Early in September 1828 Mr. King died at Natal, and within a few months was followed to the grave by Mr. Hatton, the builder of the little vessel. For nearly three years there had been no additions to the European party, but about this time Mr. William Macdowell Fynn was sent from the Cape to Delagoa Bay to search along the coast for the wreck of a small vessel named the *Buckbay Packet*, and having found it in the Maputa river, he proceeded to Natal and cast in his lot with his brother and the other adventurers.

On the 23rd of September 1828 Tshaka was assassinated at Tukusa, a military kraal on the river Umvoti, about fifty miles from Port Natal. The mother of the chief had died a few months before, and so many people were butchered for not participating in his grief, as he said, that even the most bloodstained of the Zulus were appalled. The army, after returning from the Bashee, was sent against Sotshangana's

tribe at Delagoa Bay, but met with great reverses. Several thousand men fell victims to dysentery, and the survivors were retreating in the greatest distress from hunger. At this juncture Dingan and Umthlangana, two of Tshaka's half-brothers, and Umbopa, his most trusted attendant, entered into a conspiracy to put him to death.

From his brothers Tshaka seems never to have anticipated danger. According to Bantu ideas, Dingan was of higher rank by birth, but the original Zulu tribe was such a small fraction of the nation then existing, that he was not suspected of ambitious designs. Tshaka was sitting conversing with several of his attendants when the conspirators attacked him. Dingan struck the first blow, but it was his treacherous servant who gave the death wound. His body was left uncovered on the ground, but on the following day it was buried, the residents of the place having been struck with superstitious dread when they saw that the hyenas had not devoured it. His grave is in a knoll at the upper end of the present village of Stanger, and is still regarded by the Zulus with the greatest awe.

Shortly after the death of Tshaka, Dingan with his own hand murdered Umthlangana, his brother and fellow-conspirator. Another brother with several indunas refused to acknowledge him as their head, and a short civil war followed, which resulted in the flight of one of Dingan's principal opponents and the extermination of all the others. The one who fled was named Qeto. He had with him a horde called the Amakwabi, with which he crossed the Umzimvubu and committed dreadful ravages south of that river.

The remnants of the conquered tribes far and near hailed Dingan as a deliverer, and for a year or two after his accession his government really was an improvement upon that of his predecessor. But gradually he began to display the vilest qualities. The favourites of Tshaka were the ablest men in the country, for that chief appreciated talent in his officers, and even had sufficient magnanimity to spare the

men of rank in clans that sought incorporation with the Zulu tribe. Most of these were murdered by order of Dingan. Tshaka delighted in a display of force, Dingan in gaining his ends by treachery. The devastations of the latter were trifling in comparison with those of the former, only because there was so little left within his reach to destroy. Five years after his assumption of power his people felt his tyranny as much as they had felt that of Tshaka.*

The Europeans at the port were invited by Dingan to remain there under his protection for commercial purposes, and they were well pleased to do so. On the 1st of December 1828 Messrs. Farewell and Isaacs sailed from Natal in the *Elizabeth and Susan*, with a view of procuring goods in the colony. All that were left of the crew of the *Mary* went with them, so that there remained at Natal only Messrs. H. and W. Fynn, John Cane, Henry Ogle, and Thomas Holstead. Upon the arrival of the schooner at Algoa Bay she was seized and detained by the authorities, and of all who had embarked in her, only Mr. Isaacs saw Natal again. In April 1830 he returned in an American trading vessel.

Mr. Farewell a second time interested a good many people in his scheme of colonising Natal, and in September 1829 was returning overland with a party of young Englishmen and some waggons laden with merchandise when his career was terminated. He and two companions named Walker and Thackwray left the waggons one afternoon, and rode on horseback to visit Qeto, with whom he had been acquainted in Zululand. They were received with apparent friendship,

*Captain Allen F. Gardiner, in his *Narrative of a Journey to the Zulu Country*, gives several instances of the despot's ferocity which fell under his observation. William Wood, who lived with the great chief for some time when nothing unusual was taking place, in his *Statements respecting Dingan, king of the Zoolahs*, asserts that the executions at the kraal where he was residing were at the rate of fourteen a week. Dr. Andrew Smith, who visited him in 1834, in his report says: "As characteristic of his system of proceeding, I may only mention that when I was at his kraal I saw portions of the bodies of eleven of his own wives whom he had only a few days previously put to death merely for having uttered words that happened to annoy him."

but Qeto did not conceal his annoyance at their intention of proceeding to trade with his enemy Dingan. A hut was given them to sleep in, and at a late hour they laid down to rest. Just before dawn next morning a band of Amakwabi fell upon them, murdered the three Europeans and five of their black servants, and then proceeded to plunder the goods. The members of the party who remained with the waggons managed to escape, but left everything behind in their flight.

After Mr. Farewell's death, John Cane and Henry Ogle divided his people between them, and a few years later, owing to constant accessions to their clans, they were the most powerful chiefs in Natal.

Early in 1829 Dingan was visited by Dr. Cowie, district surgeon of Albany, and Mr. Benjamin Green, who were on an exploring expedition from the Cape Colony. They left their waggon and most of their Hottentot servants at his residence, and proceeded on horseback to Delagoa Bay, where they found fever raging so severely that the European inhabitants of Lourenço Marques had been reduced from forty to six in number. Their horses died, and the explorers were compelled to leave on foot. On the 4th of April Dr. Cowie died, and was followed a few hours afterwards by one of the Hottentot servants. Four days later Mr. Green died, after giving the journal of the expedition to the interpreter, who brought it to the colony.

In this journal the explorers state that after crossing the Umzimvubu they entered a nearly depopulated country, through which they were thirty-five days in making their way to Mr. Fynn's kraal near Port Natal. During this time they saw no natives. At Dingan's residence they met about forty half-breed Portuguese traders from Delagoa Bay, whose principal article of traffic was a coarse kind of bead.

In October 1830 Dingan sent John Cane and Thomas Holstead with Hlambamanzi and six Zulus to greet the governor of the Cape Colony in his name, and to deliver a few tusks of ivory as a present. The party reached

Grahamstown on the 21st of December, after a journey of seventy days from the Tugela. There they were detained until the governor's pleasure could be made known, and it was decided eventually that they should not proceed farther. It was also thought advisable to decline the present of ivory, lest its acceptance might lead to incorrect impressions on the part of the Zulu ruler.

Cane and his associates returned to Natal, when the unsatisfactory account which they gave of their mission irritated Dingan greatly. The Europeans suspected Hlambamanzi of prejudicing the chief against them. They accused him of stating that he had learned in Grahamstown that Colonel Somerset was about to attack the Zulus, and would be assisted by them, which was the cause of the ivory not being accepted by Captain Campbell on behalf of the governor. Whether this was true or not, they came to learn of the approach of a Zulu regiment, and thought it prudent to get out of the way. The two brothers Fynn fled to Buntingville in Pondoland, Cane, Ogle, and Holstead retired to a thicket on the Umzimkulu, and Isaacs left in the American brig *St. Michael*, which happened to be there at the time.

Isaacs never returned to Natal, but his liking for Africa was so great that he spent the remainder of a long life on an island in the gulf of Guinea. As soon as Dingan's passion was over he sent for the others, and they all went back. The Fynns left Buntingville on the 11th of August 1831 in company with Mr. James Collis, who had visited Natal in the preceding year, and was now on his way from Grahamstown to establish himself as a trader at the port. He took with him several assistants, among them the parents of William Wood, who was afterwards Dingan's interpreter. Within the next year some fifteen or twenty other Englishmen—among them the father and a younger brother of the Fynns—also made their way to Natal, and sought a living either as traders or elephant hunters.

The little community was not bound by any laws, except that some of its members were chiefs of parties of blacks,

and owned the supremacy of Dingan. These men exercised absolute power over the people under their protection. Dingan threw upon Hlambamanzi the blame of his conduct towards them after the return of his embassy, and by his instructions Ogle caused that individual to be put to death.

This condition of things, as well as that white men were in the habit of assisting Dingan in war, came to the knowledge of the imperial government, and on the 25th of May 1832 Lord Goderich, who was then secretary of state for the colonies, instructed Sir Lowry Cole to send an officer to Natal to exercise authority over the Europeans there. But as he restricted the salary of the officer to a sum not exceeding one hundred pounds a year, the governor was unable to carry out the instructions.

In June 1834 the Europeans came to suspect hostile intentions on the part of Dingan, and they all fled over the Umzimkulu. It turned out, however, that their alarm was due to a mistake; and Dingan, to restore confidence, withdrew his soldiers from the country south of the Tugela for thirty-five or forty miles upwards from the sea, a tract of land that has never since been occupied for more than a few days by a Zulu army. The Europeans then returned, but in September of this year Messrs. Henry and William Fynn abandoned the district, and shortly afterwards both of them took service under the Cape government.

In 1834 Natal was visited by a party of farmers from the Cape Colony, who were desirous of ascertaining by personal observation whether the reports concerning its beauty and fertility were correct or not. Among them was Mr. Pieter Uys. They travelled through Kaffirland with fourteen waggons, and after inspecting the port, where they met with a very friendly reception from the European residents, they thoroughly explored the uplands. The luxuriant pasturage and well-watered soil charmed them exceedingly. Having satisfied themselves as to its capabilities, they returned to the colony to find that the Xosas had laid waste the eastern districts during their absence.

In January 1835 Captain Allen F. Gardiner, previously of the royal navy, visited Natal with the object of preparing the way for the establishment of Christian missions among the Zulus. In his *Narrative of a Journey to the Zulu Country* he states that there was then at the port but one house constructed after a European model, and that was built of reeds and mud. It was occupied by Mr. James Collis, at that time the principal trader in the country, who lost his life by an explosion of gunpowder a few months later. As the huts of the residents were all carefully concealed in the thicket, the place presented a wild and deserted appearance.

By this time, however, the Europeans began to aspire to the possession of better habitations. On the 23rd of June 1835 at a public meeting they resolved to lay out a town, and to name it D'Urban* in honour of the governor of the Cape Colony. Accordingly they selected a site a little farther up the shore of the inlet than where the present town is built. The regulations which they adopted included provision for a church and a hospital, and show that the little community was intelligent and progressive. Including Captain Gardiner, his interpreter George Cyrus, and his waggon driver Richard King, the whole white population did not amount to thirty-five souls, most of whom were elephant hunters who merely lived there for a month or two in the year.

They held advanced views upon representative government, as is shown by a petition which they sent to Sir Benjamin D'Urban for transmission to England. In it they stated that the country between the Tugela and Umzimkulu rivers was unoccupied except by about three thousand blacks, who were living under their protection and who acknowledged their chieftainship, although there was no recognised authority among themselves. They had named the district Victoria, and requested that it might be made a colony of the British empire, with a governor and council appointed

*Now usually written Durban.

by the king to act in concert with a house of assembly chosen by themselves.

On the 20th of January in the preceding year there was a meeting in the commercial exchange in Capetown, when it was resolved to request the imperial government to acknowledge the settlement at Natal; and a petition to that effect, with one hundred and ninety-two names attached to it, was forwarded a few months later. The governor, in his covering despatch, observed that the adoption of the scheme would prevent other powers settling there, but he was of opinion that a garrison of at least a hundred soldiers would be needed. On the 10th of November Mr. Rice wrote, declining to give his consent on account of the expense.

On the 4th of December 1835, when forwarding the petition from the residents at Natal, Sir Benjamin D'Urban recommended the occupation of the district as a British possession, and suggested the appointment of Captain Gardiner as administrator. Lord Glenelg replied on the 29th of March 1836, refusing to accede to the petitioners' request, on the ground that "his Majesty's government was deeply persuaded of the inexpediency of engaging in any scheme of colonisation or of acquiring any further enlargement of territory in Southern Africa." Thus the country remained without law or court of justice.

There was one ever-present cause of irritation between Dingan and the European settlers. Fugitives from his tyranny were continually placing themselves under protection of the white chiefs at the port, and naturally the Zulu despot was incensed at any interference between him and his subjects. On the other hand, the Europeans found it difficult to turn away poor creatures applying for shelter, as the only charge against them might be that they were relatives or dependents of some one that had incurred the wrath of Dingan, who in many instances condemned to death not only an offender but his entire family. The danger to the community from this circumstance was, however, so great that the white people agreed to observe a

treaty entered into on the 6th of May 1835 by Captain Gardiner on their behalf and the indunas Umthlela and Tambusa on the part of Dingan.

In this arrangement the Zulu chief consented to waive all claim to the persons and property of every individual then residing at Port Natal, in consequence of their having deserted from him, and to accord them his full pardon, without, however, ceasing to regard them as his subjects, liable to be sent for whenever he might think proper. On their part, the British residents engaged for the future never to receive or harbour any deserter from the Zulu country or its dependencies, and to use their best endeavours to secure and return to the chief every such individual endeavouring to find an asylum among them.

In accordance with this treaty Captain Gardiner himself conveyed a party of four fugitives back to Dingan, by whose orders they were starved to death. The captain was now considered so trustworthy that Dingan gave him authority over the whole of the Natal people, with liberty to establish a mission station at the port, and one also in the district along the northern bank of the Tugela, which was under charge of the induna Nongalaza. Captain Gardiner thereupon returned to England as speedily as possible, with a view of procuring men to occupy these posts.

In 1835 the first American missionaries, six in number, arrived in South Africa. Three of them went northward to Moselekatse's country, and the others—Dr. Adams and the reverend Messrs. Champion and Aldin Grout—proceeded to Natal. They visited Dingan at his residence, Umkungunhlovu, and obtained leave to establish themselves in his country. In February 1836 their first station was founded about eight miles from Port Natal, on the river Umlazi; and in November of the same year they commenced another, which they named Ginani, on the Umsunduzi, about ten miles north of the Tugela. In July 1837 the three who had been compelled to abandon Mosega joined their colleagues in Natal, and shortly afterwards commenced two other stations, one

thirty miles south-west of the port, and the other about the same distance beyond Ginani.

In June 1837 Captain Gardiner reached Natal again, having brought with him from England the reverend Mr. Owen, of the church missionary society. By dint of coaxing, Dingan's consent was obtained to Mr. Owen being stationed at Umkungunhlovu. The missionary had his wife, his sister, and a maid servant with him, and was accompanied by an interpreter named Richard Hulley, who with his family had joined the party at Butterworth on its way overland from Port Elizabeth. Captain Gardiner took up his residence at the station which on his former visit he had named Berea. Here he endeavoured to act in the double capacity of a missionary and a magistrate under the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill, which at Lord Glenelg's instance was passed by the imperial parliament and received the royal assent in August 1836.

This act made crimes committed by British subjects in any part of Africa south of the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude cognisable in the courts of the Cape Colony. It empowered the governor to grant commissions to persons to arrest, commit to custody, and bring to trial the king's subjects charged with crime anywhere south of that parallel. It was not to be construed, however, as investing the king with any claim or title to sovereignty or dominion over territory beyond the colonial border.

The Europeans in Natal, upon being informed that Captain Gardiner claimed authority by virtue of a commission which he held under this act, immediately resolved not to submit in any way to his control. They desired, they said, to be recognised as a British colony, and to have proper courts of law established; but to submit to the operation of an act which took no cognisance of offences committed against them, which left them without protection to be robbed or murdered, while it tied their hands even against self-defence, was something which as free men they could not consent to.

This was then the condition of affairs when Pieter Retief visited Natal. Dingan claimed the whole country between the Drakensberg and the sea as far south as the Umzimvubu, but did not practically exercise direct authority south of the Tugela. There were six mission stations, three north of the Tugela and three south of that river, occupied by two medical men, four clergymen of the American presbyterian church, one clergyman of the English episcopal church, and a retired captain of the royal navy, nearly all of whom had families with them. At Durban and its vicinity there were about thirty Englishmen residing either permanently or in the intervals between hunting excursions. The leading man and principal trader was Mr. Alexander Biggar, who came to South Africa in 1820 as the head of a party of British settlers, and in 1834 moved from the district of Albany to Natal. His fate, with that of his two sons, will presently be told. Several of these Europeans were living as chiefs of little bands of Bantu, and exercised power even of death over their followers.

The actual number of blacks between the Tugela and the Umzimvubu cannot be accurately given. No estimate of that period rises so high as ten thousand, yet it would not be safe to say that there was not fully that number between the two rivers.* They were living in the most secluded places, and kept out of observation as much as possible, through fear of drawing a Zulu army upon them. Those who were under European chiefs were in possession of small herds of cattle, and a few of the best men among them were provided with muskets, of which they had been

* Mr. John Bird, the compiler of *The Annals of Natal*, in a pamphlet of twenty-nine pages published at Pietermaritzburg in 1890, entitled *Is the Kaffir population in Natal Alien or Aboriginal? A brief inquiry*, estimates the number of natives in Natal in 1838 at forty-seven thousand, and says the commissioner Cloete had not sufficient evidence before him when he calculated their number in that year at thirteen thousand. An influx of people from each side into Natal commenced in the winter of 1838, and probably Commissioner Cloete's estimate would have been too small at the end of that year. But Mr. Bird's estimate is almost certainly much too large. The English hunters, who knew every inch of the country, and who were not dreaded by the natives, were competent to form a

taught the use; but the others were in a condition of extreme poverty.

fairly correct opinion of the number before the beginning of 1838, and the Dutch immigrants could do so with regard to those who entered the lonely land during that year, but their estimates and Mr. Bird's are widely different. There is also a marked difference between the views of the early European residents in Natal and those of Mr. Bird with regard to the rights of the Bantu immigrants. He regarded the remnants of the tribes that were driven out by the wars of Tshaka, and that returned after the European occupation of the country, as having unimpaired rights as aborigines. The early European settlers maintained that the ownership of the ground had been lost by those people when they were dispersed in Tshaka's devastations, and could not be reclaimed by them without the consent of those who had wrested it from the Zulus.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE EMIGRANT FARMERS IN NATAL. 1837 TO 1840.

EARLY in October 1837 Pieter Retief with a few of the leading emigrants set out from the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu for the purpose of examining the capabilities of Natal and obtaining Dingan's consent to its occupation. On the 19th the party arrived at the port, without having met a single individual after they crossed the Drakensberg. The residents of Durban were greatly pleased on hearing that it was the desire of the emigrants to settle in their neighbourhood. They presented an address of welcome to Mr. Retief, and did all that was in their power to assist him. A messenger was immediately sent forward to announce his intended visit to the Zulu chief, and some days were then spent in examining the harbour and the country around it.

On the 27th the party left the port for Umkungunhlovu, accompanied by John Cane and Thomas Holstead, two of the oldest inhabitants of Natal, in the capacity of guides and interpreters. Their reception by Dingan was outwardly as friendly as possible. He seemed to agree with what Mr. Retief said concerning the advantages to his people of a European settlement in their neighbourhood, and he promised to take the request for land south of the Tugela into consideration and give a decisive reply in a few days. In the meantime he entertained the farmers with exhibitions of dances, in one of which nearly two hundred oxen, all of the same colour, were mixed with the men of a regiment, and went through certain manœuvres with the most perfect accuracy. Among the stock recently captured from

Moselekatse were some of the sheep taken by the Matabele from the emigrants on the Vaal. Dingan informed Mr. Retief that most of these were dead, but he restored one hundred and ten as a present, and offered the skins of the others.

On the 8th of November Mr. Retief arranged to return to his friends. On leaving, Dingan gave him a document written by the reverend Mr. Owen, in which the Zulu chief stated that he was willing to grant the land asked for, but the farmers must first recover and restore certain cattle that had recently been stolen from one of his outposts by a party of horsemen clothed as Europeans and armed with guns. He asserted that some of his people suspected the robbers were farmers, and he wished them to prove their innocence. It was, however, certain that the Zulus knew the plundering band to be some of Sikonyela's Batlokua.

The conditions seemed to Mr. Retief easy of fulfilment. The stolen cattle were only about seven hundred in number, and the Batlokua, by driving them through an encampment of the emigrants and thereby bringing the spoor upon the farmers, had made themselves liable to be called to a reckoning. Mr. Retief therefore returned to the Caledon, sent for Sikonyela, and when that chief appeared informed him that he would be detained as a prisoner until the cattle stolen from the Zulus were given up. They were at once surrendered, and the great body of the emigrants thereupon moved off to Natal. In the course of a few weeks nearly a thousand waggons crossed the Drakensberg.

The emigrants spread themselves out along the Bluekrans and Bushman rivers, and Mr. Retief then prepared to visit Dingan again to deliver the cattle recovered from Sikonyela. But by this time many of the farmers had acquired such a feeling of uneasiness as induced them to urge their leader not to venture again into the Zulu despot's power. A man whose life was of less value to the community they thought should be sent, and there were not wanting many who nobly volunteered to fulfil the dangerous task. Mr. Maritz offered to go with only three or four others. But Mr.

Retief objected to anything that might lead Dingan to suspect that they distrusted him, and he therefore determined to go himself and take a suitable escort of volunteers. Some sixty of the best men among the emigrants offered to accompany him, and several of these imprudently allowed their sons—boys from eleven to fifteen years of age—to go also.

Before they left, Thomas Holstead and George Biggar arrived at the Bushman river. The last named was a young man who had been residing in Natal since 1834, and who came up from the port as his father's agent to ascertain the requirements of the emigrants in the way of trade. He remained for this purpose after Mr. Retief's party left. Thomas Holstead, who had been thirteen years in Natal, and who spoke the Zulu language as readily as the English, went again with Mr. Retief as interpreter. There were also about thirty Hottentot servants leading spare horses with the party.

On their arrival at Umkungunhlovu, 3rd of February 1838, Dingan expressed himself highly satisfied with their conduct, regretting only that they had not brought Sikonyela bound to him to be put to death for having dared to plunder a Zulu cattle post. He asked for some firearms and horses which the Batlokua chief had been required to give up, but appeared satisfied when he was informed that these had been restored to their legitimate owners. As on the former occasion, the farmers were entertained with exhibitions of dances and sham fights.

The day after their arrival, Dingan requested the reverend Mr. Owen to draw up a document to show that he had given the farmers a country to live in. Mr. Owen thereupon drafted a paper in the English language, which met with Dingan's approval after it had been explained to him. The document then received his mark, and when it was signed by witnesses, he handed it to Mr. Retief. It transferred to the emigrants for their perpetual property "the place called Port Natal, together with all the land from the Tugela to

the Umzimvubu river, and from the sea to the north, as far as it might be useful and in his possession."

Grants similar to this, and covering the same ground or portions of it, had been previously made by Tshaka and Dingan himself successively to Messrs. Farewell, Fynn, King, Isaacs, and Gardiner; and under no circumstances would such a cession in the minds of Bantu mean more than permission to occupy the ground during the lifetime of the reigning chief, whose supremacy would be assumed. But Dingan from the first was only seeking to lure the white men to destruction, and never intended his cession to mean anything.

The farmers were entirely thrown off their guard by the trouble that was taken apparently to entertain them. On the morning of Tuesday the 6th of February 1838 Mr. Retief and his party prepared to return to their friends, and went to take leave of Dingan, whom they found, as usual, surrounded by warriors. Great care had been taken to show them that according to Zulu custom no one could approach the chief armed, and consequently when they were requested to leave their guns outside the kraal, they did so without suspicion of danger. They were received in the ordinary manner, and were pressed to seat themselves and partake of some beer, which was being handed round freely.

While in this defenceless position, into which they had been so carefully entrapped, Dingan suddenly called out "Seize them," when instantly the Zulu soldiers rushed upon them. Thomas Holstead, the interpreter, exclaimed: "We're done for," and added in the Zulu language: "Let me speak to the king." Dingan heard him, but waved his hand in token of dissent, and called out repeatedly: "Kill the wizards." Holstead then drew his knife, and mortally wounded two of his assailants before he was secured. One of the farmers also succeeded in killing a Zulu, but the others were seized before they could spring to their feet. They were all dragged away to a hill where executions were commonly performed, and were there murdered by having their skulls

broken with knobkerries. Mr. Retief was held and forced to witness the death of his companions before he was murdered. His heart and liver were then taken out and buried in the path leading from Natal to Umkungunhlovu, but no other mutilation of the bodies took place, nor was their clothing removed.

There perished on this memorable morning sixty-six Europeans, named Dirk Aukamp, Willem Basson, Jan de Beer, Matthys de Beer, Barend van den Berg, Pieter van den Berg the elder, Pieter van den Berg the younger, Jan Beukes, Joachim Botha, Gerrit Botma the elder, Gerrit Botma the younger, Christiaan Breidenbach, Jan Brits, Pieter Brits the elder, Pieter Brits the younger, Pieter Cilliers, Andries van Dyk, Marthinus Esterhuizen, Samuel Esterhuizen, Hermanus Fourie, Abraham Greyling, Rynier Grobbelaar, Jacobus Hatting, Thomas Holstead, Jacobus Hugo, Jacobus Jooste, Pieter Jordaan, Abraham de Klerk, Jacobus de Klerk, Jan de Klerk, Balthazar Klopper, Coenraad Klopper, Lukas Klopper, Pieter Klopper, Hendrik Labuschagne, Barend Liebenberg, Daniel Liebenberg, Hercules Malan, Carel Marais, Jan van der Merwe, Pieter Meyer, Barend Oosthuizen, Jacobus Oosthuizen, Jan Oosthuizen, Marthinus Oosthuizen, Jacobus Opperman the elder, Jacobus Opperman the younger, Frederik Pretorius, Jan Pretorius, Marthinus Pretorius, Matthys Pretorius the elder, Matthys Pretorius the younger, Pieter Retief, Izaak Roberts, Jan Roberts, Christiaan van Schalkwyk, Gerrit Scheepers, Jan Scheepers, Marthinus Scheepers, Stephanus Scheepers, Stephanus Smit, Pieter Taute, Gerrit Visagie, Stephanus van Vuuren, Hendrik de Wet, and Jan de Wet.

The servants had been sent for the horses when the farmers went to take their leave of Dingan. They were surrounded by a party of soldiers, and were also put to death. One of them nearly made good his escape by the fleetness of his feet, but eventually he was run down and killed like the rest.*

* It has been generally asserted that John Cane instigated Dingan to

While the massacre was taking place, Mr. Owen sat in his hut, not knowing but that any moment he might hear the footsteps of the messengers of death. Dingan sent word to him that the farmers were being killed because they were wizards, but that he need not fear for himself. Notwithstanding this message, he felt that his life was in imminent danger, as the chief appeared to delight in nothing so much as in treachery. His interpreter, Mr. Hulley, was absent, having gone to Natal for supplies; but Mrs. and Miss Owen, a woman named Jane Williams, who had accompanied them from Wales, Mrs. Hulley, and her three children were with him. Another European who was present was a youth named William Wood, who had been living for several months at Umkungunhlovu in the capacity of interpreter to Dingan. Mr. Owen, Wood, and Jane Williams have published accounts of the massacre. They remained at Umkungunhlovu a few days in order that Dingan might not suspect them of having lost confidence in him, and then they retired to Natal. Before they left, Dingan asked Mr. Owen for his best waggon and most of his household

commit this massacre. In the colonial records I have found only one letter bearing upon the charge. It is dated 20th of July 1838, and was written from Port Natal by Edward Parker, a recent arrival there, to Major Charters, military secretary to Major-General Napier. Mr. Parker accuses John Cane of having caused the massacre of Retief's party by treacherously sending a message to Dingan that the Boers, who had run away from the Cape Colony against the wishes of the English government, would try to drive him from his country, and that the English would not assist them. Parker states that Daniel Toohey, a clerk in Maynard's business at the port, informed him he had it from Cane's own mouth that he had sent such a message. On the other hand, in none of the statements by Zulus concerning the massacre is any such charge brought against Cane, though if it had been correct they would almost certainly have mentioned it. Neither Mr. Owen nor William Wood, both of whom would most likely have heard of such a message and been questioned by Dingan concerning its accuracy, say anything of it. The real evidence against him, apart from popular belief, being very weak, and the probabilities of the case being all in his favour, I have not referred to this charge in my relation of the massacre. A similar charge was made against Henry Ogle, and even against the reverend Mr. Owen, by a few prejudiced persons, but failed to obtain credit.

effects, which the missionary did not think prudent to refuse.

A few hours after the massacre two other Europeans arrived at Dingan's kraal. They were the reverend Mr. Venable and his interpreter, Mr. James Brownlee. The indunas at the different stations had shortly before this issued orders that no person was to attend the mission services or schools, and Mr. Venable was deputed by his colleagues to visit the chief and endeavour to get these orders countermanded. But when he learned what had happened, he thought it best to say nothing of the object of his journey. As soon as he could prudently leave he did so, and gave notice to his colleagues at the different stations, all of whom retired immediately to the port.

At noon on the same day that Retief and his party were killed some ten thousand Zulu warriors marched towards Natal, with the intention of falling upon the Europeans before they could hear what had happened and prepare for defence. Having formed themselves into several bands, at early dawn on the morning of the 17th they burst upon the encampments near the present village of Weenen, which has obtained its name, meaning wailing or weeping, from the events of that day. Men, women, and children were barbarously murdered, and every European in that part of Natal must have met this fate had not, fortunately, two or three young men escaped, who hastened to inform the parties farther on of their imminent danger. These at once made the best possible preparations in their circumstances, by forming lagers with their waggons. Hardly had they time to effect this arrangement when they were assailed, but in no instance were the Zulus able to penetrate the lagers, though great numbers perished in the attempt. At one place on the Bushman river they persevered for a whole day in the endeavour to reach the farmers, whose ammunition was nearly exhausted when a shot from a three-pounder, in ploughing through a mass of the assailants, struck down several of their leaders, which caused the remainder to retire.

In the defence of the lagers the women were nearly as serviceable as the men, by loading spare muskets for their husbands and brothers.

As soon as the Zulus retired, the farmers hastened to learn the fate of their friends in front, when they found that, with few exceptions, all who had not time to take shelter in lagers had been murdered. Their cattle had been swept off, and their household goods had been destroyed. The waggons had been broken to pieces and burned for the sake of the iron in them, and beside the ruins lay the corpses of men and women, boys and girls, in some cases horribly mutilated. A few individuals had been left for dead, but subsequently recovered. Among these were two girls, named Johanna van der Merwe and Catherina Prinsloo, about ten or twelve years of age, who were found still living, though one had received nineteen and the other twenty-one stabs of the assagai. They were tended with care and recovered, though they ever after remained cripples. In another place, on a heap of corpses lay the mangled remains of George Biggar, the young Englishman from the port.

The number of white men thus cut off without warning was forty-one, named Christiaan de Beer, Stephanus de Beer, Zacharias de Beer, Josua van den Berg, Andries Bester, Wynand Bezuidenhout, George Biggar, Jan Botha the elder, Jan Botha the younger, Roelof Botha, Abraham Botma, Louw Botma the elder, Louw Botma the younger, Jacobus Coetsee, Gerrit Engelbrecht the elder, Gerrit Engelbrecht the younger, Willem Engelbrecht, Lourens Erasmus, Michiel Grobbelaar, Stephanus Grobbelaar, Willem Jacobs, Jan Joubert, Josua Joubert the elder, Josua Joubert the younger, Lourens Klopper, Frederik Kromhout, Christiaan Lochenberg, Hendrik Lochenberg the elder, Hendrik Lochenberg the younger, Marthinus van der Merwe, Willem van der Merwe, Joachim Prinsloo, Carel Roos, Jan Roos the elder, Jan Roos the younger, Adriaan Russouw, David Viljoen, Willem Wagenaar, Pieter de Wet, Frans van Wyk,

and Cornelis van Zyl. Fifty-six white women, one hundred and eighty-five white children, and about two hundred and fifty coloured servants also perished.

The survivors of this fearful massacre, after ascertaining the full extent of their loss, held a consultation to decide upon what was to be done. One or two proposed to withdraw from the country, but they were put to shame by the women, who declared that they would never leave Natal till the blood of their relatives was avenged. Their earnest, deep-seated religion supported them in this hour of distress, and gave a tone to all their proceedings. What had happened, said one, was in punishment for their sins, but let them call upon God and He would certainly help them. And then from that sorrow-stricken camp went up their cry to the God of heaven, that He would not forsake His people nor let the heathen triumph over them. After this the discussion was not what was expedient for them to do, but what it was their duty to do. The resolution they arrived at was that they ought to punish the murderers of their friends. For this they were then too weak, but they were not left long without assistance.

Commandants Potgieter and Uys, upon hearing of these events, hastened across the Drakensberg to aid their countrymen. The Englishmen at the port, having ample proof from the fate of Thomas Holstead and George Biggar that they were in the same danger, offered to attack Dingan with their people from one direction while the farmers should do the same from another. This was decided upon, but even in this juncture the jealousies which were the bane of the emigrants prevented that action in obedience to a single will which alone could ensure success. After Retief's death Mr. Maritz became the head of the whole of the parties in Natal, and they desired that he should command the expedition against Dingan. But neither Hendrik Potgieter nor Pieter Uys would serve under him, nor would one of these serve under the other. At last it was arranged that Maritz should remain in charge of the lagers in Natal, while Potgieter and

Uys should proceed against Dingan, acting in concert, but each having independent control over his followers.

Early in April the two expeditions set out. The one from the port consisted of about twenty English traders and hunters, the same number of Hottentots, and from a thousand to fifteen hundred blacks. These last were nearly all fugitives from Zululand, so that their fidelity could be depended upon. The whole expedition was nominally under command of Robert Biggar, a brother of the young man who had been murdered; but in reality each white chief, such as John Cane and Henry Ogle, had absolute authority over his own people and obeyed only such orders as pleased him. Four days after leaving the port this commando reached a Zulu kraal, from which most of the men were absent. They secured here the whole of the cattle, variously estimated from three to seven thousand head, and a considerable number of women and girls. The bonds of discipline were too weak to stand the strain of this success. Cane's people raised a quarrel with Ogle's as to the division of the spoil, and a combat with sticks took place in which the latter were badly beaten. The English leaders saw that they could not proceed farther until the plunder was disposed of, and they therefore returned to Natal.

In the meantime Commandants Potgieter and Uys were advancing towards the Zulu capital. Between them they had three hundred and forty-seven men. Take the fact of their being mounted and armed with muskets into consideration, and this expedition must still remain one of the most daring events on record, considering that Dingan could bring into the field at least a hundred times their number of warriors, trained to despise death in battle, disciplined to move in concert, and armed with the deadly stabbing assagai. The loss of their horses, either through straying away or through overwork, at any moment must have been fatal to the commando. For five days their march was unopposed, the country which they passed through appearing to have been abandoned.

On the 11th of April they came in sight of a division of the Zulu army, which they attacked impetuously, and were drawn into a skilfully planned ambuscade. Before them were two parallel ranges of hills, between which was a long defile, and into this the farmers were led by the Zulus apparently retreating before them. Uys's division was in advance. When in the narrowest part of the gorge they found themselves surrounded by an immense force which had been lying in ambush, and by which they were so hemmed in that they could not fall back rapidly after firing and again load and charge, as was their mode of fighting with Moselekatse. The horses of Potgieter's division became almost unmanageable through the din created by the Zulus striking their shields. There was but one course open. The farmers directed all their fire upon one mass of the enemy, when, having cleared a path by shooting down hundreds, they rushed through and escaped. They left their led horses, baggage, and spare ammunition behind.

The loss of the farmers in this engagement was ten men, Pieter Lavras Uys, Dirk Cornelis Uys, Joseph Kruger, Frans Labuschagne, David Malan, Jacobus Malan, Jan Malan, Louis Nel, Pieter Nel, and Theunis Nel. Commandant Uys was assisting a wounded comrade when he received a stab from an assagai. As he fell he called to his followers to leave him and fight their way out, for he must die. His son, Dirk Cornelis Uys, a boy of fifteen years of age, was some distance off, but looking about he saw his father on the ground, and a Zulu in the act of stabbing him. The gallant youth turned his horse and rode to help his parent, but could only die at his side. Englishmen will remember how bravely another son of the same Commandant Uys conducted himself forty-one years later in our war with Ketshwayo, and the manner of his death at Hlobane on the 28th of March 1879.

While this event was taking place, the Englishmen at the port were about to leave for the second time. The quarrel concerning the division of the spoil taken on the first occasion was, however, not altogether made up, so that neither Ogle,

nor his people, nor his partisans, would go again. The second expedition consisted of seventeen Englishmen, about twenty Hottentots, and fifteen hundred blacks, of whom between three and four hundred were armed with muskets. It was nominally under command of Robert Biggar, as before. A few miles south of the Tugela the commando came upon a Zulu regiment, which pretended to take to flight, left food cooking on fires, and even threw away a number of shields and assagais. The Natal army pursued with all haste, crossed the Tugela, took possession of a kraal on the northern bank, and then found it had been drawn between the horns of a Zulu army fully seven thousand strong.

The battle that was fought, on the 17th of April 1838, was one of the most desperate contests that ever took place on that bloodstained soil. Three times in succession the Natal army beat back the regiments that charged furiously upon it. Then a strong Zulu reinforcement came in sight, and renewed the enemy's courage. Another rush was made, which cut the Natal army in two, and all hope of successful resistance was over. One of the divisions tried to escape by the only open path, which was down a steep bank of the Tugela and across that river. A Zulu regiment hastened to cut off the retreat of the fugitives, and many were killed in the water; but four Englishmen, two or three Hottentots, and about five hundred blacks managed to get through. The other division was entirely surrounded. But no lion at bay ever created such havoc among hounds that worried him as this little band caused among the warriors of Dingan before it perished. The young regiments were selected to charge upon it, while the veterans watched their prowess from a neighbouring hill. Whole masses went down before the withering fire, the survivors recoiled, but again they were directed to charge. At last a rush of a regiment, with another in reserve close behind, carried everything before it, and the stubborn fight was over. A thousand Natal blacks had perished, and probably three times that number of Zulus. Thirteen Englishmen lay dead on the field of battle,

Robert Biggar, Henry Batts, C. Blanckenberg, William Bottomley, John Cane, Thomas Carden, John Campbell, Thomas Campbell, Richard Lovedale, Robert Russell, John Stubbs, Richard Wood, and William Wood.

After this victory Dingan's army marched leisurely to Durban; but, fortunately, the *Comet*, a small vessel bound to Delagoa Bay, had called at Natal and was then lying at anchor there. The American missionaries, except Mr. Lindley who had volunteered to remain behind and report occurrences, had already left in a vessel bound to Port Elizabeth. Mr. Owen and his family, with Mr. Lindley and the surviving residents of Durban, took refuge on board the *Comet* at night and on one of the islands during the day. The blacks retired to the thickets. The Zulus remained at the port nine days, during which time they destroyed all the property they could find, leaving not even a dog or a fowl alive. They then returned to Umkungunhlovu to report themselves.

Some eight or nine Englishmen—among them Alexander Biggar, Henry Ogle, Daniel Toohey, Charles Adams, Robert Dunn, and Richard King—now resolved to try their fortune once more in Natal, and accordingly they left the island and sought out the blacks in the thickets. The missionaries and the remaining traders and hunters sailed in the *Comet* to Delagoa Bay, where fever attacked them, and one—Charles Pickman—died. From Delagoa Bay they proceeded to the Cape Colony. The missionaries intended to return as soon as prospects should be favourable; but of them all, only Mr. Lindley, Dr. Adams, and Mr. Aldin Grout saw Natal again.

Commandant Hendrik Potgieter with his adherents also left Natal at the same time. Party feeling was running so high that there were not wanting those who attributed the disaster in which Pieter Uys lost his life to mismanagement on Potgieter's part. He had the country purchased from Makwana, and that abandoned by Moselekatse, to fall back upon; and he did not care to remain in Natal, where the

opposing faction was much stronger than his own. A large party recrossed the Drakensberg with him. On the 16th of May an officer sent to make inquiry by the civil commissioner of Colesberg met them two days' march on the inland side of the mountains, moving towards the Sand river. There they remained until November, when they proceeded onward to the Mooi river, and formed on its banks the first permanent settlement of Europeans in the country north of the Vaal. To the town which they built there they gave the name Potchefstroom in honour of their chief. Henceforth until September 1840 this party had a government of its own, independent of that of the other emigrants. Its volksraad claimed jurisdiction over the whole territory north of the Vaal and also over an extensive tract of land south of that river.

The secession of Mr. Potgieter's adherents was, however, more than compensated by the arrival at Natal of fresh parties from the Cape Colony. The largest of these consisted of thirty-nine families from Olifant's Hoek, under the leadership of Mr. Carel Pieter Landman.

In May Mr. Maritz' camp was visited by Fieldcornet Gideon Joubert of the district of Colesberg, and Mr. Jacobus Nicolaas Boshof, first clerk to the civil commissioner of Graaff-Reinet and a justice of the peace. Mr. Joubert's object was to endeavour to induce the emigrants to return to their former homes. Mr. Boshof had leave of absence from the colonial government to visit his parents at Swellendam, and for proceeding to Natal on this occasion he was dismissed from the service by Major-General Napier, but shortly afterwards he threw in his fortunes with the emigrants. Both of these gentlemen drew up reports upon the condition of the people and the country. That of Mr. Boshof has been published, and that of Mr. Joubert is still in manuscript in the colonial secretary's office. The emigrants were found resolute to remain in Natal, and to punish Dingan as speedily as possible. Mr. Landman had been sent on a mission to the port, near which, in

compliance with a request of the English settlers, a camp was about to be stationed. At this time there were in Natal about six hundred and forty male Europeans capable of bearing arms, and three thousand two hundred women and children.

On the 16th of May Mr. Landman, with the concurrence of the few remaining Englishmen at Durban, issued a proclamation taking possession of the port in the name of the "Association of South African Emigrants." He appointed Mr. Alexander Biggar landdrost, and Mr. William Cowie field-cornet. Mr. Biggar, who was suffering under great depression of spirits consequent on the loss of his sons and his entire property, did not care to perform the duties, and therefore a few weeks later Mr. L. Badenhorst was appointed landdrost in his stead. He, in his turn, after a very short tenure of office was succeeded by Mr. F. Roos.

In July Major-General Napier issued a proclamation inviting the emigrants to return to the Cape Colony, promising them redress of well-founded grievances, stating that they could not be absolved from their allegiance as British subjects, and informing them that whenever he considered it advisable he would take military possession of Port Natal. He had previously announced that "the determination of her Majesty's government was to permit no further colonisation in this part of Africa, nor the creation of any pretended independent state by any of her Majesty's subjects, which the emigrant farmers continued to be." But proclamation and announcement alike fell upon deaf ears, for those to whom they were addressed were resolved not to return.

In August Dingan's army attacked the camp on the Bushman river again, and on three successive days endeavoured to force an entrance, but on each occasion was compelled to retire with heavy loss. Only one farmer, Vlodman by name, was killed.

Most of the emigrants were at this time in great distress from want of proper food and other necessaries of life, so much property having been destroyed and so many cattle

swept off. Disease, in the form of low fever, broke out among them, probably induced by insufficient nourishment and clothing; and many must have perished if supplies of medicine and other necessaries had not been forwarded by their countrymen at the Cape. This winter was, indeed, one of such suffering and hardship that it was long remembered as the time of the great distress. Mr. Landman was now the nominal head of the emigrants in Natal, for the health of Mr. Maritz had broken down, though he lingered in life until early in October.

In November Mr. Gideon Joubert was sent by Governor Napier to Natal to ascertain the condition and number of apprentices with the emigrants who were entitled to freedom on the 1st of December, and to demand that they should be allowed to return with him. He found no difficulty in carrying out his instructions. Most of the apprentices had already been set at liberty, and when this was not the case they were without exception offered the choice of returning with Mr. Joubert or of remaining as servants with wages. Nearly all preferred to remain, so that Mr. Joubert brought back only eight men, eleven women, and twenty-one children.

While Mr. Joubert was engaged in this mission Mr. Andries Willem Jacobus Pretorius, a man whose name was often to be heard during the next fifteen years, arrived in Natal, and was elected commandant-general. He had visited the country on a tour of inspection just before the massacre of Mr. Retief's party, and had been so well satisfied with its appearance that upon his return to Graaff-Reinet he and his friends resolved to remove to it. The new commandant-general was a man of considerable wealth and of high character. His family traced its descent through many generations to Jan Pretorius, son of a clergyman at Goeree in South Holland, who arrived at Capetown in the early days of the settlement; and they prided themselves upon having preserved an unstained reputation for integrity during that long period. Mr. Pretorius, like most of the farmers

of that day, had received very little education from books, and had no knowledge of modern history or the condition and relative strength of European nations, but in bible history he was as well versed as his remote ancestor could have been. His knowledge and his opinions, as well as his virtues and his failings, were those of the seventeenth, not of the nineteenth century. At this time he was in the noontide of life, being but thirty-nine years of age, and in full vigour of mind and body.

Early in December a strong commando was ready to take the field against Dingan. It was under direction of Mr. Pretorius as commandant-general, Mr. Landman being the officer next in rank. Guided by experience, the farmers determined to take a considerable number of waggons and some artillery with them for defensive purposes. Mr. Alexander Biggar, whose grief for the loss of his sons was inconsolable, joined the burgher army with a small party of Natal blacks to act as scouts. Altogether four hundred and sixty-four men mustered, exclusive of the commandants.

At this season of the year thunderstorms are frequent, and the rivers of Natal and Zululand are usually in flood. The Tugela in its lower course being impassable, the commandant-general resolved to cross it near the Kathlamba.

The march towards Umkungunhlovu was conducted with the greatest caution, to guard against sudden attack. Scouts were continually riding in all directions, and every night a lager was formed by drawing the waggons up in a circle and lashing them together. The commando resembled an itinerant prayer-meeting rather than a modern army on the march, for the men were imbued with the same spirit as the Ironsides of Cromwell, and spoke and acted in pretty much the same manner. There was no song, no jest heard in that camp, but prayers were poured forth and psalms were sung at every halting place. The army made a vow that if God would give them victory over the cruel heathen, they would build a church and set

apart a festival day in every year to commemorate it. The church in Pietermaritzburg and the annual celebration of Dingan's day bear witness that they kept their pledge. They did not wish to fight merely for the sake of revenge. On three occasions the scouts brought in some captured Zulus, and Mr. Pretorius immediately sent these to Dingan to inform him that if he would restore the property taken from the emigrants they were prepared to enter into negotiations for peace.

Dingan's reply came in the form of an army ten or twelve thousand strong, which attacked the camp at early dawn on Sunday the 16th of December 1838. The camp was on the bank of a river, which here formed a long and deep reach, giving complete protection on that side. Another side was also well protected by a water drain, then dry, with steep banks about fourteen feet in height, which opened into the stream. The Zulus attempted to force an entrance by sheer pressure of numbers on the two open sides, and they persevered in their efforts for two full hours, notwithstanding the terrible havoc created among them by the fire of the artillery and of the farmers' guns. At last they concentrated their strength on one point, when Mr. Pretorius led a body of horsemen out and attacked them in the rear, while they were being mowed down in front. This movement decided the action, for the Zulus, finding themselves between two fires and utterly unable to reach either, broke and fled. There were four or five hundred in the water drain and along the bank of the river, and these were all shot down. The farmers had three men slightly wounded, Mr. Pretorius himself being one of them. They estimated the number of Zulus lying dead around the camp at over three thousand. The ground was covered with corpses and gore, and even the water was discoloured. From this circumstance the stream on the bank of which the carnage took place received the name Blood river.

On the 17th the commando moved forward, and on the 21st reached Umkungunhlovu, when it was found that

Dingan had set fire to his capital and had fled with his army to the thickets and ravines skirting the Umvolosi river. The first man to enter the still burning kraal was Mr. Jacobus Uys, brother of the late commandant, and next to him was young Jacobus Uys, the late commandant's son. Mr. Carel Cilliers, the most earnest preacher and at the same time one of the very best warriors among the farmers, was not far behind. They found nothing living in that awful place which had been the scene of so many murders and so much woe.

On the hill outside the kraal they discovered the skeletons of Mr. Retief and his companions, who ten months before had fallen victims to Dingan's treachery, and whose death they were then avenging. The bodies appeared never to have been disturbed since the day of the massacre, and even the riems with which the victims had been dragged to the place were still attached to the skeletons. All the skulls were broken, showing how thoroughly the murderers had done their work. The skeleton of Mr. Retief was recognised by some fragments of clothing and a leather despatch bag suspended from the shoulder. In this bag was found the deed of cession of Natal, written by Mr. Owen, in a perfect state of preservation.

After the interment of the remains, a camp was formed some miles farther on, and then Mr. Pretorius sent a patrol of two hundred and eighty horsemen in pursuit of Dingan. A Zulu army was found in an extensive and broken valley with rocky and precipitous sides, and here for nearly a whole day the farmers were skirmishing. Towards evening they found that another body of Zulus was closing them in from behind, when they resolved to turn at once and cut their way out. In doing so they were obliged to cross a swollen rivulet, and here the enemy got among them, and killed Mr. Alexander Biggar, five emigrants, named Gerrit van Staden, Barend Bester, Nicolaas le Roux, Marthinus Goosen, and Jan Oosthuizen, and five of the Natal blacks. The others got away in safety.

The commando then commenced its return march. When it reached the Buffalo river a patrol was sent out, which was fortunate enough to fall in with a herd of four or five thousand cattle, guarded by only a hundred men. The guards were shot, and the cattle seized.

All this time the imperial government was undecided how to act. In the opinion of Lord Glenelg extension of the colonial territory implied not alone extension of responsibility and increase of military expenditure, but injustice towards native tribes. Knowing nothing of the condition of the Bantu of the interior, the secretary of state believed that the emigrant farmers were in collision with inoffensive tribes, and did not imagine that the Zulus and the Matabele were the most cruel foes the aborigines ever had. These erroneous impressions were strengthened by the violent language of Captain Stockenstrom and the reverend Dr. Philip concerning the dealings of the emigrants with the blacks, which, though it seemed to South Africans to be the phraseology of vindictiveness, appeared to Lord Glenelg as the outpouring of indignation against the perpetrators of wrong.

How could further emigration be prevented, and the farmers who had left the Cape Colony be compelled to return? Captain Stockenstrom urged that Port Natal should be occupied by troops, so as to cut off supplies of ammunition, and thus leave the emigrants only the alternative of retreat or death. His representations on this subject show as plainly as his evidence before the commons committee that at this unhappy period of his life his chief object was to please the secretary of state. Thus he recommended Lord Glenelg to occupy Port Natal as "the first step towards further arrangements for arresting a system of encroachment, usurpation, oppression, and bloodshed, which, though familiar in the history of South Africa, was even there unparalleled in atrocity and extent." Lord Glenelg could not see that language such as this conveyed utterly erroneous impressions, but he declined to act as advised.

Without instructions from England, in November 1838 Major-General Napier took the responsibility of sending a company of the 72nd highlanders and a few artillerymen to close the harbour of Natal. These troops were embarked at Port Elizabeth in the merchant ship *Helen*, which was engaged for the purpose; and a little coasting vessel named the *Mary* conveyed the stores. The brig-of-war *Leveret* accompanied the expedition. Major Samuel Charters, of the royal artillery, military secretary to the governor, was in command, and Mr. Theophilus Shepstone went as Kaffir interpreter.

In a proclamation the governor announced that the occupation of Port Natal was temporary and purely military, not partaking in any degree of the nature of colonisation or annexation to the British dominions. The harbour was declared closed against all trade except such as should be carried on under special license of the Cape government. Clearances granted by a British, colonial, or foreign custom-house were not to be respected, and the officer in command of the troops was directed to prevent—by force of arms if necessary—the entrance of vessels into the harbour for purposes of trade, or the landing of cargo of any description upon the adjacent coast, unless the vessel was provided with the requisite license.

The proclamation further gave the officer in command of the troops power to expel or confine any persons whom he might consider dangerous. It directed him to search for, seize, and retain in his charge all arms and munitions of war which at the time of the occupation of Port Natal should be found in possession of the inhabitants, but he was to take care that the same should be kept in proper order, and to grant receipts to the owners.

This action on the part of the governor was very offensive to the emigrants, but neither he nor any other Englishman could look with indifference upon their design of establishing an independent republic upon the coast, with a harbour through which access to the interior could be had. Even

those who sympathised most deeply with them approved of the governor's taking possession of the port, but would have been better pleased if it had been declared a permanent British possession, and the safety and welfare of the emigrants had been provided for.

After the landing of the troops, on the 4th of December Major Charters proclaimed that he had taken possession of the ground surrounding the inlet within two miles of high-water mark, and declared martial law in force within these limits. There was standing near the Point a substantial stone store, recently erected for Mr. Maynard, with a small wooden building close by belonging to Mr. John Owen Smith, of Port Elizabeth. These were obtained from their occupants, and were converted into a warehouse for provisions and a magazine for arms. Three guns were landed, and were mounted on neighbouring sandhills which commanded an extensive range. The troops were provided with tents, which they occupied until wattle and daub barracks could be erected. The whole encampment was enclosed as soon as possible with stockades cut in the mangrove thickets, and it then received the name Fort Victoria.

Major Charters took possession of a large quantity of ammunition which was found in the stores of Messrs. Maynard and John Owen Smith, as well as the contents of a small magazine belonging to the emigrants. Upon the return to Natal of the commando under Mr. Pretorius, the volksraad deputed Mr. Landman to confer with Major Charters, and to receive from him the ammunition which they hoped he would not detain after full information concerning them had been given. The major, however, declined to release it without a pledge from the leading emigrants that they would not again cross the Tugela, and would only use it for defensive purposes. This pledge they declined to give, on the ground that they were a free people and the ammunition was property which they had a full right to.

At this time there were three small camps of emigrants close to the port. One, consisting of about five and twenty or thirty families under Mr. L. Badenhorst, was near the head of the inlet. A second, rather larger, was at the Umlazi; and the third, of about fifteen families, was ten or twelve miles beyond in the same direction. The last two were under Andries de Jager and Jacobus Uys.

Major Charters returned overland to Capetown as soon as the troops were settled, leaving Captain Henry Jervis of the 72nd in command. This officer held a commission under the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill, and under it he summoned a farmer who was accused of assault to appear before him. The farmer, however, declined to attend, alleging that he was a member of an independent community, and responsible only to the landdrost appointed by the volksraad. Thereupon Captain Jervis referred the case to Major-General Napier, by whom he was informed that it would be inexpedient to press the matter. Thus began and ended the attempt to exercise judicial authority over the emigrants at Natal, for in no other instance was the slightest effort made to interfere with their civil government. In the absence of instructions from the secretary of state, which were repeatedly solicited, but in vain, the governor could do nothing more than inform them on every opportunity that they were still regarded as British subjects, and officially ignore their volksraad and courts of law, while all the time they were acting as an independent people.

In March 1839 Pietermaritzburg* was laid out. It was named in honour of the late commandants Pieter Retief and Gerrit Maritz. Here, from this date onward, the volksraad, or governing council of the emigrants, met. It consisted of twenty-four members, elected annually, who met every three months, and not only exercised supreme legislative power, but appointed all officials, the commandant-general included.

Early in 1839 an attempt was made by Captain Jervis to bring about an agreement of peace between the emigrants

* Now usually termed Maritzburg for the sake of brevity.

and Dingan. He obtained a messenger from Henry Ogle, whom he sent to invite Dingan to appoint delegates and direct them to proceed to Natal to talk matters over. As afterwards seen, the Zulu chief had no intention of ceasing hostilities. He had lost about ten thousand men in all the engagements, but his army was still so large that he was by no means humbled. He was, however, quite ready to enter into an arrangement which would enable him to keep a constant watch over the emigrants' proceedings. He therefore sent delegates to Natal with three hundred and sixteen horses and a message indicating a wish for peace.

On the 26th of March the delegates had a meeting close to the fort with Mr. Pretorius and some other leading emigrants, in presence of Captain Jervis, when they were informed that the farmers would consent to peace if Dingan would confirm the cession of land made to Mr. Retief, would restore the cattle and other property which his army had taken, would make good all the damage caused by his people, and would agree that Zulus crossing the Tugela southward and white people crossing it northward should be shot.

The Zulu delegates professed to consider these conditions fair and reasonable, but said that Dingan's approval was necessary. They accordingly returned to their chief, and shortly afterwards came back to the port with a message to Captain Jervis to the effect that the farmers' property had been collected, and would be delivered to them if they would send for it. Captain Jervis hereupon communicated with the emigrants at the nearest camps, and they with the volksraad at Maritzburg. Upon this, Mr. Pretorius assembled a commando of three hundred and thirty-four burghers near the junction of the Mooi and Tugela rivers where he formed a camp, aud then sent a commission consisting of Messrs. William Cowie, J. A. van Niekerk, and J. P. Roscher, for the property.

Dingan was found at a new kraal about four hundred yards from the site of the one that had been burnt six months

before. He stated that much of the farmers' stock had died, and that many of the guns had been lost, but he sent back with the commission thirteen hundred head of horned cattle, about four hundred sheep, fifty-two guns, and forty-three saddles, which were delivered at the camp on the 7th of June. He expressed himself very anxious for peace, but circumstances that indicate the still unbroken spirit of the people are noted in the report of the interview which Mr. Cowie furnished to Captain Jervis.

The Zulu chief promised to send his great indunas to the camp of the emigrants to make final arrangements, but instead of doing so he deputed two petty captains, who stated that he agreed to the terms delivered to his delegates in presence of Captain Jervis at the port. Mr. Pretorius then informed them that the losses and damages for which compensation was still due were estimated at nineteen thousand three hundred head of cattle, but part might be paid in ivory if more convenient. The captains then affixed their marks to the conditions of peace, and engaged on behalf of their master that delegates of rank should ratify their acts and that as soon as they returned home a quantity of ivory which had already been collected should be sent to Mr. Pretorius on account.

When the conditions were signed, the commandant-general wrote to Captain Jervis, requesting the delivery of the ammunition seized by Major Charters, on the ground that there could be now no pretence for detaining it. Captain Jervis replied that he would give it up upon the leaders of the emigrants signing an engagement that they would not use it against the Zulus or other tribes, but would restrict themselves to measures of defence on the territory which they then occupied.

Neither Mr. Pretorius nor any other of the principal leaders, however, would admit the right of an English officer to impose conditions, and so the powder and lead remained in the magazine of Fort Victoria. That there was no scarcity of ammunition among the emigrants was well known,

and if other evidence had been wanting it was proved by a fire which broke out in the evening of the 3rd of June in one of the camps near Maritzburg, in which nine individuals lost their lives, ten others were severely injured, and the waggons and household effects of twenty-nine families were utterly destroyed. The principal damage was caused by the explosion of gunpowder stored in different waggons.

On the 30th of June two messengers arrived at Maritzburg from Dingan. They brought no ivory, but said they had come to ratify the terms of peace and to inquire when the cattle would be taken over. The volksraad, ascertaining that they were persons of no rank, declined to confer with them further than to direct them to inform Dingan that he must send some of his chief captains within twelve days, otherwise they would treat with him no longer, but settle matters with a commando. On several occasions afterwards messengers arrived, who did nothing but deliver compliments, make promises, and apologise for mistakes, until it became evident that Dingan's only object was to ascertain whether the farmers kept in lager or were dispersing over the country.

At this time the emigrants were agitated by a rumour that a large body of English colonists would shortly be landed at Natal with the object of overturning their government. Great as was the danger from Dingan, they regarded this as greater. On the 31st of July the commandant-general and the volksraad wrote to Captain Jervis that they would never allow people not subject to their jurisdiction to settle in the country. "The bones," they wrote, "of our innocent and treacherously murdered relatives and friends at the Bushman river will remain a lasting evidence of our right to this land until another beacon of similar materials shall overshadow ours." On the 11th of November the volksraad passed a resolution to oppose the landing of immigrants without its previous consent, and if such immigrants should be attended by a military force too great to be resisted on landing, to carry on a guerilla warfare against them.

But their fears were groundless. The marquess of Normanby, Lord Glenelg's successor as secretary of state for the colonies, was indisposed to add another acre of land in South Africa to the empire. On the 30th of April 1839 he wrote to Governor Napier, approving of the temporary occupation of Port Natal for the purpose of preventing the introduction of munitions of war and checking the desire of emigration from the Cape Colony, but announcing his agreement "to the fullest extent in the views of his immediate predecessor as to the impolicy of extending the dominions of the British crown in Southern Africa."

The 72nd regiment was expecting orders to embark for Europe, and the governor therefore made up his mind to withdraw the garrison from Fort Victoria and to leave the emigrants entirely to themselves. His own opinion, often repeated and urgently pressed upon the successive secretaries of state, was that Natal should be constituted a British colony, but, as he stated in a despatch to Lord John Russell on the 22nd of June 1840, "the reiterated expression by Lords Glenelg and Normanby of their merely temporary and conditional approval of the military possession of the port, their observations on the expense attending it, and the apparently fixed determination of her Majesty's government not to extend colonial possessions in this part of the world, made him feel confident that the colonisation of that country would never be sanctioned, and therefore he felt the further retention of the port might give rise to hopes or even fears which it was probably the wish of her Majesty's ministers not to foster."

On the 24th of December 1839 the troops embarked in a vessel sent for them. The farmers' ammunition was at last restored without any guarantee as to its use, and they saw the symbols of English sovereignty disappear, though in a farewell letter of Captain Jervis he stated that they were still considered British subjects. Under such circumstances, however, they concluded that the imperial government had practically abandoned its claim to their allegiance.

About four months before the departure of the troops, a very important event took place in the Zulu country. Umpande, or Panda as he is usually termed by Europeans, one of the younger sons of Senzangakona, entered into a conspiracy against Dingan. In ability he was far inferior to either of his brothers, and almost immeasurably lower than his son Ketshwayo in later years. But he possessed a large amount of low cunning, and he was clever enough to seize the opportunity that then occurred to improve his position. A great number of the incorporated Zulus—the remnants of tribes that had come under Tshaka as the only means of saving themselves—were ready to rally round any leader who could give them reasonable hope of deliverance from incessant bloodshed and tyranny. The induna Nongalaza, who was in command of the district along the northern bank of the Tugela, declared for Panda, and they joined him. The rebel chief, with a large following, then crossed the Tugela, and sent three messengers to Landdrost Roos at the port to ask protection from the Europeans. These messengers arrived on the 14th of September, and stated that Panda was accompanied by Nongalaza, Sotobe who had been sent by Tshaka to the Cape with Mr. King in 1828, and six other great indunas.

The emigrants at first regarded Panda with suspicion, as it was by no means certain that his flight was not merely a pretence to draw them to destruction. But in an interview which he had with the volksraad on the 15th of October he convinced the members of his sincerity, and permission was given to him to occupy for the time being a tract of land between the Tugela and Umvoti rivers. On the 26th of the same month he was installed "reigning prince of the emigrant Zulus" by a commission from the volksraad, of which Mr. F. Roos, landdrost of the camps around the port, was president. An arrangement was soon afterwards entered into that the volksraad should require from Dingan immediate payment of their losses, and that in the event of the demand not being complied with, the emigrants should

assist Panda to depose his brother, in which case he undertook to pay the debt. It was understood on both sides that the first clause was a mere matter of form, and Panda therefore paid about two thousand head of cattle at once.

In accordance with this arrangement, on the 4th of January 1840 the volksraad directed Commandant-General Pretorius to march against Dingan, to demand from him forty thousand head of horned cattle, and if they were not given, to take them by force. Ten days later a burgher commando of four hundred men, supported by five or six thousand of Panda's adherents under Nongalaza, set out for Zululand.

During the campaign several prisoners were taken, and to the astonishment of the Zulus who were acting in concert with the farmers, they were released. On one occasion this happened after a mountain had been occupied with difficulty. Panda's followers could not appreciate such gentleness towards enemies, which they considered reprehensible. A tragic deed, which must always remain a reproach on the reputation of this commando, was more in accordance with their views of propriety.

The approach of the commando was made known to Dingan by his spies, and recognising the gravity of the position in which he was placed, he attempted—possibly in earnest—to come to terms with the emigrants. There were two officers immediately under him, whose advice he frequently sought, and through whom he carried on his government. Their names were Tambusa and Umthlela. The first named of these he now sent to the emigrant camp to renew negotiations for peace.

Upon Tambusa's arrival, he and his servant Kombazana were made prisoners, and contrary to all law and justice were brought to trial before a court martial. Panda and some of his officers were kept by Mr. Pretorius in his own camp as security against treachery, the column under Nongalaza being at some distance and marching in a parallel line. These persons, who would assuredly do all in

their power to cause the death of one of Dingan's magnates, were allowed to take part in the mock trial. Panda acted indeed in the double capacity of prosecutor and judge. He attributed the massacres of the emigrants to the advice given to Dingan by Tambusa, and accused the chief prisoner of many other enormities.

Tambusa, finding himself in the hands of those who were determined on his death, acted with the utmost calmness and dignity. He did not deny the truth of Panda's assertions, but said he was not there to defend himself: he had come as an envoy from a great chief to arrange terms of peace. He scorned to ask mercy for himself, but demanded the release of his servant, who, he said, was obliged to obey any orders given to him. Kombazana, on his part, displayed equal pride by refusing to be separated from his master even in death. They were both condemned to be executed.

When the sentence was pronounced, Mr. Pretorius spoke to the prisoners of God, the Almighty master before whose judgment seat they must soon appear, and besought them to pray to Him for pardon of their sins while yet there was time.

Tambusa answered that he had but one master; that it was his duty to remain faithful to Dingan to the last moment of his life; and that if he did this the great chief of whom Mr. Pretorius spoke could not fail to be satisfied with his conduct.

A few hours later on the same day, 31st of January 1840, the condemned men were led to execution. They were manacled together, and both were perfectly naked. Two farmers from a distance of sixty paces fired at them, when Kombazana was killed instantly. Tambusa fell to the ground with a ball in his body, though he was not mortally wounded. Rising immediately, he again stood erect, though manacled to the still quivering corpse of his servant, and faced the executioners with an undaunted eye. The second discharge followed speedily, and he rose no more.

This act of Mr. Pretorius—for the chief blame must rest upon him—was a great mistake as well as a great crime. It gave those who were jealous of his influence an opportunity to attack him, which they at once availed themselves of. In the volksraad he was accused of having exceeded the authority entrusted to him by creating a tribunal with power of life and death. His partisans, however, were so strong that after a time the charge was allowed to drop.

Immediately after this event a messenger from Nongalaza brought word to the burgher column that on the preceding day, 30th of January 1840, he had fought a great battle at Magongo, near the Umkuzi river, with Dingan's army led by Umthlela, and had won a complete victory.

This battle proved a decisive one. At its commencement Dingan's army was superior in number, but during the action a body of his troops went over to Panda's side, and turned the scale. Those who were faithful stood their ground, and fell as became Zulu warriors. The slaughter on each side was enormous. The two best regiments of Dingan perished. The veterans who had won their plumes under Tshaka preferred to die rather than show their backs to the traitors who had deserted their cause. Umthlela placed himself at the head of the reserve, and went into the hottest part of the field, where he was pierced through the heart with an assagai. Still the issue of the day was doubtful, when the cry echoed along Nongalaza's ranks: "The Boers are coming." It was not so, but the belief that it was answered Nongalaza's purpose. The remnant of Dingan's army, the men who could not flee from a foe armed with spear and shield, gave way in their fear of those dreaded horsemen who had power to deal out death without meeting it themselves. A bushy country spread out before them, and favoured their escape. The battle was over, and the terror which the Zulu name had inspired for twenty years was a thing of the past.

Dingan fled northward to the border of the Swazi country, where he built a kraal in a secluded and tolerably secure position. There he was soon afterwards assassinated by a

Swazi who stole upon him unawares. Those who had adhered to him in his misfortunes then tendered their submission to Panda, by whom they were received with every mark of favour, and were indeed afterwards trusted by him as his own early adherents never were. He acted on the principle that men who were traitors once might be traitors again. Even Nongalaza, to whom he owed so much, was always regarded by him with suspicion, and in 1843 was murdered in a brutal manner by his order.

After the decisive engagement an enormous booty in cattle fell into the hands of the conquerors. About forty thousand head were delivered to Mr. Pretorius, and were subsequently distributed among the emigrants in proportion to their losses.

On the 10th of February Mr. Pretorius formally installed Panda as chief of the Zulus, but in vassalage to the volksraad, to which he promised fidelity. It was arranged that he should remove his followers to the northern side of the Tugela, and that the ground on which he was to reside should be an appanage of the republic of Natal. To this end, on the 14th of February 1840 Mr. Pretorius issued a proclamation in the name of the volksraad, taking possession of the land between the Tugela and Black Umvolosi rivers from the Drakensberg to the sea, and declaring St. Lucia Bay and the coast southward to the mouth of the Umzimvubu to belong to the emigrants.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE REPUBLIC OF NATAL AND ITS OVERTHROW.

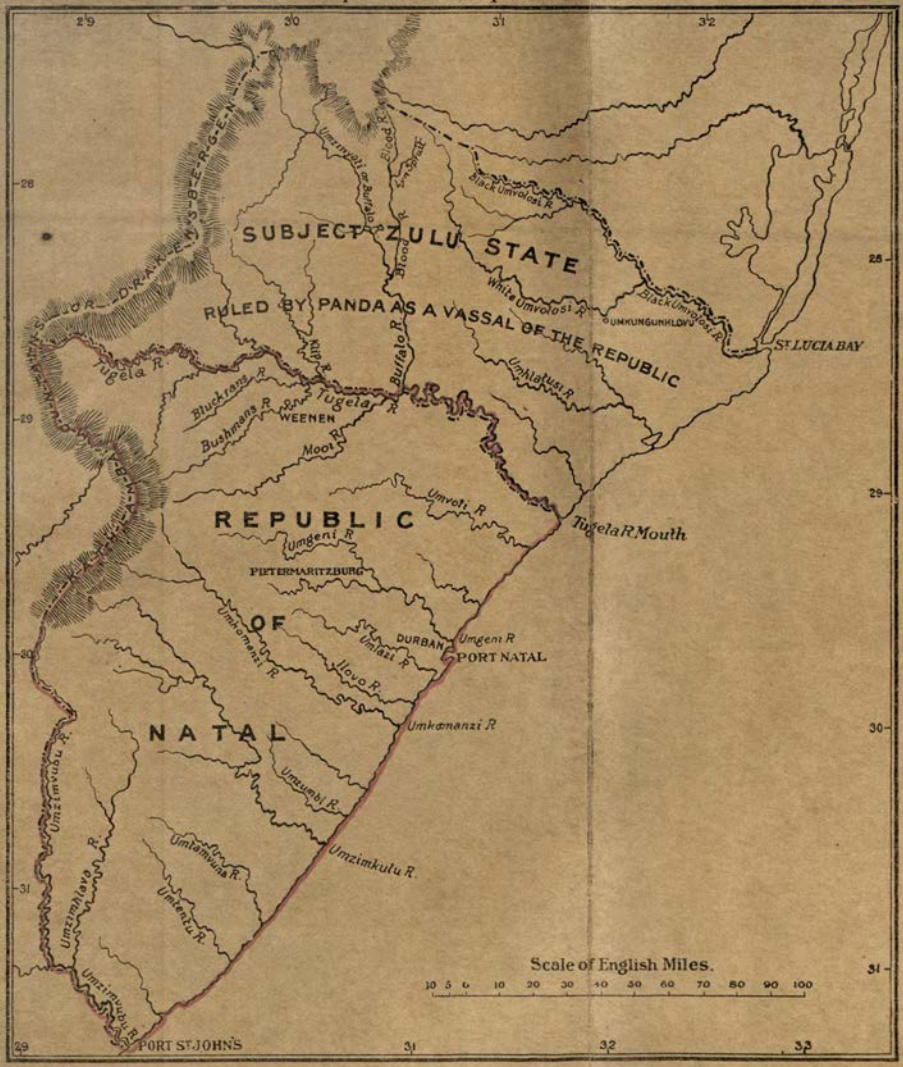
THE territory under the government of the emigrant farmers between the Drakensberg and the sea, and which they termed the republic of Natal, had as its northern boundary the Tugela river from its source to its mouth, which divided it from the subject Zulu state under Panda. Thus the whole of that triangular block of land now comprised in the counties of Klip River and Newcastle was in the dependency of Zululand, not in the republic proper. On the southwest the boundary was the Umzimvubu river, and embraced therefore large portions of the present districts of Pondoland and Griqualand East.

The republic was divided into three magisterial and ecclesiastical districts, named Pietermaritzburg, Weenen, and Port Natal.

The village of Weenen was laid out in 1840. As in Maritzburg, the erven or building allotments were parallelograms one hundred and fifty by four hundred and fifty feet in size, thus providing space for each family to have its own garden and orchard, while the public grounds were so large as really to make the village the centre of an immense grazing farm. The commonage around Maritzburg was about one hundred and twenty square miles in extent.

Every burgher of full age who had settled in Natal before the beginning of 1840 was entitled to two farms of three thousand morgen each and one erf in either of the villages. Each lad above fifteen years of age was entitled to one farm and one erf. Every head of a family arriving after that

This map shows the Republic of Natal.



London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co Lim

date and casting in his lot with the community was to be entitled to one farm free of payment.

The public revenue was derived from:—

(*a*) Duties levied at the port. All wines were charged thirty shillings the aam. Spirits of any kind were charged three shillings a gallon. Tobacco in any form, timber, and all articles made of wood were charged one-fourth of their value. All other merchandise was charged three per cent of the value.

(*b*) Port dues paid by vessels dropping anchor, at the rate of three pence a ton.

(*c*) A tax of eighteen shillings yearly on every farm not exceeding three thousand morgen in extent. Farms above that size paid in proportion.

(*d*) Transfer dues at the rate of two per cent on the purchase amount of land.

(*e*) Fines of court.

The civil list was so small as to be unique in the history of European communities. The landdrost and the clergyman of Maritzburg were each paid at the rate of £100 a year. The secretary of the volksraad received £75, and each of the landdrosts of Port Natal and of Weenen £37 10*s.* a year. The clergyman Smit, whose health had completely failed, drew a yearly pension of £45. The port captain, collector of customs, and entire police establishment cost the republic less than £100 a year. The total civil list was under £500.

At Port Natal and at Weenen congregations were organised, each with its own elders and deacons, but neither of these places had a resident clergyman. In June 1839 Dr. Adams and the reverend Daniel Lindley, two of the American missionaries, returned to Natal. Dr. Adams resumed his labours with the blacks at his former station on the Umlazi, but Mr. Lindley, seeing the Europeans without pastoral care, conceived it his duty to minister to them. The affection with which his name was pronounced in hundreds of South African households long after his death was a proof that his devotion to their spiritual welfare was appreciated. He

became the resident clergyman of Maritzburg, but once every year he visited Durban and Weenen, and also went over the Drakensberg to hold services at Winburg and Potchefstroom.

In June 1840 the reverend Aldin Grout returned to Natal, and joined Dr. Adams at the Umlazi, where he devoted himself solely to the blacks. In May of the following year he removed to Zululand, and commenced mission work in the centre of some large kraals on the Umhlatusi. But Panda viewed the mission with no friendly eye, as he took offence at Mr. Grout's doctrine, and feared that such teaching would weaken his authority. At dawn on the morning of the 25th of July 1842 a band of warriors, acting under his orders, attacked the station, and wiped out of existence three of the kraals that were believed to have paid most attention to the white teacher's words. Mr. Grout himself was spared, but he deemed it prudent to return at once to Natal, where he shortly afterwards tried to found a station on the Umgeni.

The volksraad, which was the supreme legislative power in the republic, consisted of twenty-four members, and met at Maritzburg in regular session on the first Monday of January, April, July, and October. Twelve members formed a quorum. At each session a chairman was chosen, who took the title of president, and with the aid of a few members who formed what was termed the commissie raad, carried on the government during the following three months. All appointments to office were made by the volksraad. No sentence of death could be carried into effect without its sanction. At the end of every year the field-cornets sent in papers signed by the burghers of their wards, on each of which was the name of the individual whom the subscribing burgher desired as a representative. The twenty-four individuals having the greatest number of votes formed the volksraad for the following year. As if this form of government was not sufficiently democratic, whenever a measure of importance was to be decided a meeting of what was termed *the public*, that is of all who chose to attend, was called together to sanction or reject it.

The result was utter anarchy. Decisions of one day were frequently reversed the next, and every one held himself free to disobey any law that he did not approve of. The most violent language was used in discussing even ordinary matters. The landdrosts frequently found themselves without power to enforce their decisions, or even to compel the attendance before their courts of persons summoned for debt or accused of crime. Public opinion of the hour in each section of the community was the only force in the land. In the volksraad and in the public service, exclusive of Mr. Lindley, there were only two individuals sufficiently educated to be able to write English correctly, and not more than five or six who were acquainted with the rudiments of Dutch grammar. Mr. J. N. Boshof excepted, there was not one who had the slightest experience of office work. Under such a government any people with less stability of character than the emigrant farmers must have become thoroughly demoralised.

The political tie between the people of Natal and those who occupied the country west of the Drakensberg was exceedingly frail, though the sympathy of blood was strong. After recrossing the Drakensberg in 1838, Commandant Hendrik Potgieter took up his residence on the Mooi river, and established an independent government. There was no Bantu tribe near enough to disturb him, for Moselekatse had fled so far away that when in July 1840 a commando assembled to follow him up and endeavour to recover the captive children, the Matabele could not be found.

In September 1840 a loose kind of alliance was formed between the government of this section of the emigrants and the volksraad of Natal. The emigrants west of the Drakensberg were thenceforth under what they termed an adjunct raad, consisting of twelve members, and claiming authority over the districts of Winburg and Potchefstroom. The district of Winburg was defined as the whole country south of the Vaal, from the Vet river to the Drakensberg, that is nearly half of the territory that was later the

Orange Free State. The district of Potchefstroom was held to be all the country north of the Vaal conquered from Moselekatse. Its boundaries were not accurately defined, but in the articles of agreement between Messrs. A. W. J. Pretorius and A. H. Potgieter the land open for settlement is described as extending from the desert on the west to Rhenoster Poort on the east, and from the Vaal river and the saltpan near Lithako on the south to Zoutpansberg on the north. At the villages of Winburg and Potchefstroom there were landdrosts and church officers without clergymen, as at Weenen and Port Natal.

In each of these districts, just as in each of the three districts of Natal, there was a commandant who had power in case of war to call out all the burghers capable of bearing arms. Mr. Potgieter, who was over these again, was styled chief commandant. In Natal Mr. A. W. J. Pretorius, the officer of highest military authority, was termed commandant-general. They all lived by farming as other burghers did, and received no salaries.

Under the agreement of union, the adjunct raad retained full and independent control in minor matters over the districts of Winburg and Potchefstroom, and had the right of sitting with the volksraad at Maritzburg whenever important subjects were considered.

Between the Vet river and the Orange there were several parties of emigrants acting independently of either of the councils here named. With all of them the form of government was merely probationary. They readily acknowledged that they knew nothing of the policies of other people, ancient or modern, except from bible history, and were only experimenting until they could work out a system adapted to their needs.

The details of the administration having been settled, the volksraad deemed it advisable to enter into correspondence with the governor of the Cape Colony, with a view of obtaining recognition of their independence. Sir George Napier, a large party in South Africa, and an influential

association in London, of which Mr. Abraham Borradaile was chairman and Mr. Saxe Bannister secretary, had long been urging the imperial government to take possession of Natal for colonisation purposes, but the ministry was unwilling to increase England's responsibilities in this part of the continent. Lord John Russell declared that he was not in principle averse to the extension of colonies, unless where the occupation of territory previously held by aboriginal tribes would cause flagrant injustice, cruel wars, and protracted misery, or where it would require a large expenditure without prospect of adequate compensation. These considerations, he wrote, made him hesitate to give his sanction to the colonisation of Natal, as the settlers in all probability would be exposed to continual conflicts, and fresh troops would be often needed.

On the 18th of June 1840, however, he instructed the governor to send a detachment of soldiers to resume possession of the port, and thus re-establish the influence of the British name in the country; and on the 5th of September he wrote that he was favourable to the settlement of Natal as a British colony, but not prepared to expend large sums of money to conquer the territory from the emigrant farmers. He desired therefore that they should be conciliated, and that for this purpose a president and council should be appointed by the governor from among themselves, and be entrusted with civil authority.

When these despatches arrived the aspect of affairs on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony was such that the governor dared not withdraw a single company of soldiers, and as he feared that the military occupation of Port Natal would be resisted, he felt himself obliged to temporise.

Matters were in this condition when on the 4th of September 1840 Mr. L. Badenhorst, then president, and Mr. J. J. Burger, secretary of the volksraad, wrote to Sir George Napier, informing him that they had established peace with the surrounding tribes, and asking through him that the queen might be graciously pleased to acknowledge and declare

them a free and independent people. They proposed to send two commissioners to Capetown to treat for "an acknowledgment of their independence, with the rights of British subjects." Such a sentence as this is an illustration of much of the correspondence of the volksraad when the letters were not drafted by Mr. Boshof.

Sir George Napier replied on the 2nd of November, asking for an explicit statement of the terms on which they were disposed to treat, but without making any promises or admissions.

On the 14th of January 1841 the conditions which they desired to embody in a treaty were agreed to by a majority of the volksraad after long discussion, and were communicated to Sir George Napier in a letter signed by Carel Pieter Landman, then president, and twelve members.

They provided for the acknowledgment by the British government of the independence of the republic; for a close alliance; for neutrality in the event of war between Great Britain and any other power; for reciprocal customs duties at the same rates as if Natal was a British settlement, except on wines and spirituous liquors, which were to be heavily taxed; for an engagement that the republic should not make war upon the tribes to the southward without giving due notice to the colonial government and stating the cause, and should not extend its boundaries to the disadvantage of the bordering tribes, or make any hostile movements against those people unless first attacked; for the encouragement of the spread of the gospel among the heathen and of their civilisation; for the withholding of aid from the declared enemies of Great Britain; for the free passage of British troops through the republic in case of war between the colony and the Kaffirs, should the governor desire it; for the prohibition of trade in slaves; and for the protection of British subjects residing in the country.

While this correspondence was being carried on, an event took place which altered the whole aspect of affairs, and which necessitates a reference to the Pondo tribe.

In July 1828 Major Dundas, landdrost of Albany, visited these people, and had an interview with Faku, their paramount chief, who was then living in the valley of the Umgazi river. Tshaka's army had swept the country of cattle, and after an occupation of a month and a half had left only ten days before Major Dundas's visit. Faku had sent to Hintsa and Vusani, chiefs of the Galekas and Tembus, for assistance, but had received none, and he was then about to beg Tshaka to receive him as a vassal. The messengers whom he sent for that purpose actually reached Tshaka's kraal on the very day that chief was assassinated.

In May 1829 the reverend William Shaw visited Faku at his kraal on the Umgazi. The country close around was thickly populated, and the people had gathered a plentiful harvest of corn, but had very few cattle. In this year Morley mission station was founded by the reverend Mr. Shepstone among Depa's people, who were partly descended from Europeans wrecked on the coast, but who were Pondo vassals. The station was destroyed a few months later by the Amakwabi, when Mr. Shepstone's family narrowly escaped; but it was subsequently rebuilt in another and better position on the western bank of the Umtata.

In 1830 the Buntingville mission was commenced by the reverend Messrs. Boyce and Tainton. Faku, who believed that the missionaries were powerful rainmakers, gave them one of the driest sites in the whole country, in hope of benefiting by the rain which he anticipated they would cause to descend for their own profit. When, however, he found that his expectations were not realised, he granted a much better site elsewhere, and the mission was removed.

At this time the Pondos were not by any means a powerful tribe, and they were entirely confined to the western bank of the Umzimvubu. It was not alone invasions of their country by Tshaka's armies that had brought them to this condition. Numerous hordes, fleeing before the Zulu spear, sought refuge in the rugged district drained by the Umzimvubu, others made a pathway through it to safer

regions beyond. Every horde that came was an enemy of all the rest, and so there was for years a continual scene of pillaging and butchering throughout the land.

It would be a waste of time to search out and place on record the titles of all the clans that made their appearance on the Umzimvubu between 1820 and 1830, let alone to trace their history. Many of them have become incorporated with the Pondo tribe. Many others are now subject to the government of Natal. Several have perished utterly, among these being the Amakwabi, mentioned in another chapter. One clan only requires a brief notice. This was the remnant of the Baca tribe, which had been driven down from the north, and which was then under a regent named Ncapayi, owing to its hereditary chief being a minor. The Baca clan was the most powerful body of refugees in the valley of the Umzimvubu. Its propensities for plundering all within its reach were no greater than those of the others, but its strength enabled it to hold its ground when weaker people perished. The fame of Ncapayi extended to the Cape Colony, where he was spoken of as pre-eminently the freebooter of Kaffirland.

Of the negotiations with Faku by the colonial government during the war of 1835, and the promise which he made to Captain Delancy in 1836, accounts have been given in previous chapters. He did not keep his promise long. In November 1836 Ncapayi attacked the Tembus, and took from them immense herds of cattle, which raised the cupidity of Faku to the highest pitch. Vadana, the Tembu regent, sent to Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom imploring aid, on the ground of his having assisted the white people in the late war, but received in response nothing more than a friendly greeting conveyed by Mr. William Fynn. Faku, observing this and being informed that the British troops were retiring over the Fish river and the Xosas were advancing westward, thought also of enriching himself with Tembu cattle. Early in 1838 he made friends with Ncapayi, and together they swept the country between the Umtata and the Bashee three

times in succession. The Tembus were reduced to such a state that in October the missionary at Clarkebury reported the people around him to be dying of hunger, and subscriptions were opened in the colony to provide them with food. These events caused the great bulk of the Tembus to move away from their ancient home to the territory along the upper branches of the Kei.

One of the earliest acts of the emigrant farmers after entering Natal was to communicate with Faku, who had the reputation of being abler and better disposed towards white people than the other chiefs in the neighbourhood. To their communication he replied in a friendly manner. Nothing was said of the extent of the territory belonging to him, and he put forward no pretensions to any part of the country north of the Umzimvubu. Though desiring to be on good terms, the farmers did not consider him a chief of much power, but rated his military strength below that of Ncapayi.

A lady who for the next forty years was the unwearied champion of what she termed Pondo rights just at this period went to reside in the country. This was Mrs. Thomas Jenkins, wife of a Wesleyan missionary, afterwards commonly called the queen of Pondoland. Her first letters describe the people as being in a condition of great poverty. They had no cattle of whose skins to make clothing, so the men went entirely naked, and the women wore nothing but a girdle of maize leaves round their waists. There were constant feuds and battles between the different clans of the Pondos, Bacas, Pondomisis, Xesibes, Hlangwenis, and others. She and her husband were residing at Buntingville. Faku was opposed to the preaching of Mr. Jenkins, for he said it would make his people cowards in fight if they were often spoken to about another world.

In February 1838 tidings reached the Pondo kraals of the massacres at Umkungunhlovu and Weenen, but the bearers of the news added that the farmers had repulsed the Zulus from every lager attacked, and that the white

people were in possession of the country south of the Tugela. The intelligence was received with the greatest joy, for it gave deliverance from the dread of that terrible power before which the tribe had cowed so long. At once the valley of the Umgazi became too small in Faku's opinion for him and his people. On the 10th and 11th of March he set fire to his old kraals, and crossing the Umzimvubu, built new ones on the banks of the Umzimhlava, a streamlet a short distance to the northward. To Mr. Jenkins he gave as his reason for doing so that he feared the colonial government would send a commando to punish him for attacking Vadana, and therefore wished to get as far away as possible. It is not likely, however, that he was guided by such a motive, for he continued his raids upon Vadana just as before.

Early in 1839 the reverend Mr. Jenkins delivered a message to Faku as coming from the governor: that Sir George Napier guaranteed to him the possession of the country northward as far as the Umzimkulu river, and if that territory was violated by the emigrant farmers he should apply for military aid. No such construction could fairly be put upon the language which the governor actually used, but thereafter the European partisans of the Pondo chief constantly laid claim to the whole of that country.

In those days many missionaries took a different view of government by Bantu chiefs from that now held by their successors, though it is but fair to the Wesleyan society to add that the opinions of most of its agents even then were those of the present day, and they would gladly have seen British dominion established over the people with whom they were labouring. The opinion, however, of a majority of those under the reverend Dr. Philip's supervision and of all who had recently arrived from Great Britain was in favour of Bantu states under missionary guidance, and a cry of oppression and wrong was raised and made to echo throughout England whenever anything was undertaken that tended to prevent the growth of a chief's authority. The barbarous rulers of petty tribes, who were unable to comprehend any

other power than that of brute force or of magic, were in missionary documents of the time commonly styled kings.

In many instances the missionaries were violent partisans of the chiefs with whom they were living, and claimed more for them than did the hereditary councillors of the tribe. As each, however, supported his own potentate, and the interests of these were continually clashing, the government at the Cape had the means of forming a tolerably correct judgment between them. In this instance Mr. Jenkins went far beyond any Pondo, in claiming for the tribe not only the district occupied by its ancestors and lost in war, but a great extent of country beyond.

That Faku himself made no claim to such a large district is proved by a message which he sent to the commander of the troops at Port Natal in October 1839. His messengers were directed to ask Captain Jervis's consent to the occupation by Pondos of the land between the Umtentu and Umtamvuna rivers, a tract of country a long way south of the Umzimkulu. Captain Jervis avoided all responsibility, though his language was ambiguous, by replying that the government had no wish to interfere in Faku's affairs, but that in his own territory he could move wherever he pleased.

At the close of the year 1840 the Pondo tribe was in a much more prosperous condition than it had been at any time since 1823. The crops of 1838 and 1839 were so scanty that Mrs. Jenkins wrote of the sufferings of the people from famine as indescribable; but this season the gardens yielded abundance of food. The tribe had enjoyed three years of protection from the fear of Zulu inroads, by which its scattered members were enabled to rejoin their chief; and a considerable number of cattle had been captured from the Tembus and the Bacas. Still it was doubtful which was the more powerful of the two, Faku or Ncapayi. Fighting between them was renewed in April 1840, when Faku sent to Maritzburg to ask the farmers to allow him to receive assistance from the Hlangweni chief Fodo, who was living under their jurisdiction on land south of the Umzimkulu.

The clan under Fodo was one of the numerous branches of the large Hlangweni tribe, that had been driven by the Zulus from its original home near the Tugela. In its flight it fell upon and routed the Bacas, who were then living where Maritzburg now stands. Nombewu, Fodo's father, wandered from place to place until he reached the eastern bank of the Kei, where the descendants of some of his followers are still to be found. After a time he retraced his steps, and settled on a feeder of the Umzimvubu, but there he was attacked and killed by the Bacas under Ncapayi. His son Fodo escaped, and after much roaming about had a tract of land south of the Umzimkulu assigned to his use by the emigrant farmers, where he collected the remnant of the clan, and where their descendants, under the chief Dungazwe, now reside. Thus there was a bitter feud between the Bacas and the Hlangwenis, which Faku wished to turn to account when he resumed hostilities with Ncapayi.

While affairs were in this condition a number of cattle were stolen from various farmers in Natal. The spoors were traced to the rugged country along the Umzimvubu which was occupied by Ncapayi's people, and it was ascertained that although the principal plunderers were Bushmen, the Bacas were implicated in many of the thefts. A discussion was held in the volksraad as to what steps should be taken to punish the robbers and prevent further stealing. Some were for making such an example of Ncapayi that no one in his direction would dare to molest the emigrants again. Others counselled a close alliance with Faku, and the punishment of the robbers through him. Moderate men like Mr. Boshof and Mr. Landman saw clearly that an attack upon any tribe on their southern border, without the concurrence of the Cape government, would be resented by the colony as endangering the peace of its frontier. The party of violence, however, was the more numerous, and while the negotiations were being carried on which they hoped would terminate in the acknowledgment of their

independence by Great Britain, two hundred and sixty men assembled to punish Ncapayi.

This force was under the direction of Commandant-General Pretorius, but Commandant Hendrik Stephanus Lombard took the most active part in the operations. On the march it was joined by Fodo and his men. The Bacas were attacked early one morning, and were driven from their kraals without any loss on the part of the assailants. According to the information supplied by Ncapayi to the missionaries, twenty-six men, ten women, and four children were killed on his side, and the horned cattle belonging to sixty-two families, together with about two thousand sheep and goats, were driven off. He also stated that a great many women and children were taken away. Commandant Lombard's account is that the spoil was three thousand head of horned cattle, among which were some of those that had been stolen from the farmers. The sheep and goats were taken by Fodo's people, as also were the women and children, but as soon as it was known that these had been made captive, the farmers liberated them and allowed them to return to their friends. Seventeen children, however, whose parents were ascertained to be dead, were kept to be apprenticed until they should be of age.

Faku's satisfaction on hearing of his enemy's loss was blended with fear that he also might some day meet with the same fate. In his dealings with white people he had by this time come to be guided entirely by the missionaries, and he now sent messengers to Buntingville to request Mr. Jenkins to pay him a visit. On the 1st of January 1841 the reverend Messrs. Palmer, Jenkins, and Garner assembled at the chief's residence on the Umzimhlava, where they remained until the 5th, and during that time the course to be pursued was decided upon. A letter was sent to Sir George Napier, who was then on the colonial border, begging that Faku might be taken under his protection, and containing a declaration that the chief, being in great fear of the emigrant farmers, was about to remove from the

eastern side of the Umzimvubu, but claimed the whole country from that river to the Umzimkulu. On this document appeared the marks of Faku, Damasi, and Bangasili, and the signatures as witnesses of Samuel Palmer, Thomas Jenkins, and William H. Garner, Wesleyan missionaries. It was dated 5th of January 1841.

Whether the attack upon Ncapayi was morally justifiable or not, Sir George Napier was convinced that British interests in South Africa were imperilled by the attitude of the emigrants, as anything that tended to press the Bantu tribes down upon the Cape Colony increased the danger of war. On the 18th of June 1840 the secretary of state had sent him authority to use his discretion as to reoccupying Port Natal with a military force, or not; and he would have sent troops there months before only that he believed they would be resisted, and it would therefore be imprudent to employ fewer than three hundred men, a number which —as he wrote to Lord John Russell on the 20th of September—"under the unsettled and irritated state of the farmers on the eastern frontier, occasioned by the constant and unprovoked plunder of their cattle and horses by the Kaffirs, he did not feel justified in detaching, as it would endanger the safety of the colony." He now resolved to form a military post in Faku's country, where it would serve the double purpose of preventing another attack by the emigrant farmers upon a tribe south of Natal, and of placing the Xosas between two fires.

A few hours after receiving the letter from the missionaries his orders were issued, and on the 28th of January 1841 Captain Thomas Charlton Smith of the 27th left Fort Peddie at the head of two companies of his own regiment, fifty men of the Cape mounted rifles under Captain H. D. Warden, a lieutenant and eight men of the royal artillery, and a lieutenant and four men of the royal engineers. He had with him a train of fifty-four transport waggons, and was accompanied by several men whose names have since become well known in South Africa, among whom may be

mentioned Major-General Bisset, then an ensign in the Cape mounted rifles, Lieutenant Charles Somerset of the same regiment, and Mr. Charles F. Potgieter, then a commissariat clerk, afterwards assistant commissary general. Though there were no roads through the wild country, no difficulty was met in the march to the Umgazi river, where Captain Smith formed a camp.

Upon being apprised by Sir George Napier that he was sending troops to protect Faku, the volksraad caused a letter to be written, justifying the attack upon the Bacas, and denying that the Pondo chief was in any danger from them, as they were on the most friendly terms with him, and had interchanged professions of peace and goodwill while their commando was in the field against Ncapayi. But there were many men in Natal who felt that a great blunder had been committed; and party feeling, always violent, after this occurrence became more violent still.

The tone of the correspondence concerning the position of the emigrants was now changed. The governor did not reply to the volksraad's letter of the 14th of January until the 10th of June, when he wrote that he "could not enter into any negotiation or further communication with them until they distinctly acknowledged their full and entire allegiance to the queen of England, and further declared their willingness to obey the lawful authority of the British government."

The imperial ministry was still desirous not to enlarge the possessions and responsibilities of England in South Africa, and withheld from the governor authority for taking action of any kind, except to station a garrison again at Port Natal to control the trade, if he thought that by so doing the emigrants would be induced in time to return to the Cape Colony. On the 3rd of September he wrote to the president of the volksraad, in terms of his instructions, that "her Majesty had desired him to inform the emigrant farmers that she could not acknowledge a portion of her own subjects as an independent republic, but that on their receiving

a military force from the colony, their trade would be placed on the footing of that of a British possession."

To this letter a reply was received, dated the 11th of October and signed by Mr. Joachim Prinsloo, as president, and Mr. J. J. Burger, as secretary, in which the governor was informed that the emigrant farmers declined to be considered British subjects, and that they would "not consent to her Majesty's proposal to receive a military force, as they had not asked for it and had no need of it for their protection."

After the farmers settled in Natal, several thousand Bantu refugees of different tribes moved in, and the few natives who survived the Zulu invasions crept out of the forests in which they had concealed themselves. There was every likelihood of these people giving trouble if they were allowed to take possession of land wherever they pleased. In August 1841 therefore the volksraad passed a resolution that except those who might choose either to return to Zululand or to take service, they should be collected together and be located in the district between the Umzimvubu and Umtamvuna rivers, so as to effect a separation between them and the Europeans. In that district the blacks were to be left pretty much to themselves, but an officer of the emigrant government was to be stationed with them to exercise general control, for they were to be regarded as subjects of the republic.

This resolution could not be acted upon at once, as some months were required to make the necessary arrangements, and before these were completed Sir George Napier interfered. In his view the project was one tending to crowd the tribes down towards the colonial frontier, and could not therefore be permitted.

There was yet another cause of irritation. In August 1841 an American trading brig named the *Levant* arrived at Port Natal, crossed the bar in safety, and discharged a quantity of merchandise which her supercargo offered for sale. There was so little money and such a small quantity

of ivory and hides on hand that the amount of trade done was very trifling. The fact, however, was established that a port was open through which the commerce of the interior might eventually pass, and the merchants of the Cape Colony raised a cry of danger.

To the letter of the 11th of October from the volksraad no reply was made, as shortly after its receipt Sir George Napier received a despatch from Lord John Russell, dated 21st of August 1841, in which he was instructed to make arrangements for reoccupying Port Natal in such a manner as to command the harbour, but not to interfere with the emigrant farmers unless the troops or friendly Kaffir tribes were attacked. In accordance with these instructions, on the 2nd of December he issued a proclamation, in which, after stating the emigrants' claim to be considered an independent people and the resolution of the volksraad to locate the blacks on the ground between the Umtamvuna and Umzimvubu rivers, which country, he affirmed, formed part of the territories of Faku, and that from such an unjust and illegal proceeding there was reason to apprehend that warfare and bloodshed would be occasioned, he declared that the queen would not recognise the emigrants as an independent people, nor permit them to form themselves into an independent state, and that he should resume military occupation of Port Natal by sending thither without delay a detachment of her Majesty's forces. Finally, he warned all British subjects, including the emigrants, of the consequences of resisting either her Majesty's troops or the exercise of her Majesty's authority.

To carry this proclamation into effect, Captain Lonsdale, of the 27th, was instructed to march from the colonial frontier to reinforce Captain Smith at the Umgazi with one hundred and eight men of his own regiment, and seventeen engineers, Cape mounted riflemen, and artillerymen. He was also to take two field-pieces. Captain Smith was directed upon the arrival of this reinforcement to leave a guard at the Umgazi camp, and to move on to Port Natal himself with

two hundred and twenty-two men of the 27th regiment, seventeen artillerymen with three guns, six engineers, and eighteen Cape mounted riflemen. Instructions were also issued as to his intercourse with the emigrants, which may be briefly summed up as follows: Pledge the government to nothing until her Majesty's pleasure is known. Do not interfere with the emigrants. Treat them courteously, but call them constantly her Majesty's subjects. Protect all from attack, black and white, and see that peace is kept.

Upon receipt of these instructions, and while awaiting Captain Lonsdale's arrival, Captain Smith opened communication with some English residents at Durban, by whom he was informed of the condition of affairs there and promised assistance. Several emigrants also forwarded assurances that they were weary of the constant strife between the different sections of the community, and would welcome his arrival with troops as the only means of relief from anarchy. These letters and messages were secretly forwarded to and fro by native runners supplied by Henry Ogle, who was then living on the Umkomanzi, about thirty miles south of the port.

The tone of the volksraad was, however, very different. In a long letter to Sir George Napier, dated at Maritzburg on the 21st of February 1842, and signed by Joachim Prinsloo as president and eighteen of the members, a determination to resist was made known. It was not their object, they said, to defy the power of Great Britain, but they could not allow might to triumph over right, without employing all the means at their disposal to prevent it. In God and in the justice of their cause they trusted, knowing that He could protect the weak against oppressors. Their arrangements for the removal of the blacks were founded on true philanthropy. They were not aware that Faku had any claim to the land between the Umtamvuna and Umzimvubu rivers, as he had informed them that it belonged to Tshaka and afterwards to Dingan, and he had recognised their right to it. Under the British government, which gave

no protection except to uncivilised people, they could not exist in Natal. They were therefore driven to choose either to move again and leave their possessions behind, or to take up arms in defence of their rights; and they left to his Excellency's judgment which of the two was preferable. Finally, they protested against the movement threatened in the proclamation, and declared that whatever the result they would be blameless before God, their own consciences, and the world.

On the 1st of April 1842 the force destined for Natal left the camp on the Umgazi. The little army consisted of two hundred and sixty-three men of all ranks, and it was furnished with one howitzer and two light field-pieces. It was accompanied by a long waggon train, sixty of the drivers of which were Englishmen and were armed. The distance between the point left and that aimed at by the route followed was reckoned to be two hundred and sixty miles. There was no road through the country, and heavy rains had recently fallen, so that the rivers were swollen and nearly impassable.

On the thirty-third day of the march, as the expedition was drawing near to Durban, it was met by two farmers, who handed to Captain Smith a written protest from the volksraad against the troops entering Natal; but he declined to receive it. On the day following, the 4th of May, the troops reached their destination, and encamped on a plain at the base of the Berea, about half a mile from the few scattered buildings that then constituted the town of Durban. Not a single casualty had occurred during the march. While the camp was being formed the volksraad's protest was again tendered, and its acceptance again rejected. The same thing occurred on the 5th, and on this last occasion the deputation informed Captain Smith by word of mouth that the republic was in treaty with Holland and under the protection of that power.

The origin of this statement was one of the strangest episodes in the history of Natal. When information reached

the Netherlands that thousands of families were leaving the Cape Colony, much interest was created, and sympathy with the emigrants in their sufferings was everywhere warmly expressed. To several individuals the occasion seemed favourable for establishing new business connections. In particular, Mr. George Gerhard Ohrig, of the firm of Klyn & Co., of Amsterdam, exerted himself to form an association purposely for trading with Natal. He published a pamphlet in which the former greatness of the Netherlands was referred to, the emigrants were applauded as worthy descendants of the men who had fought for liberty against Spain and who had founded a world-wide commerce, and the advantages of establishing a trade with them and securing a port of call for Dutch ships in time of war were dwelt upon.

This pamphlet—entitled *The Emigrants at Port Natal*—was privately distributed in the Netherlands, and so carefully was its circulation guarded that the British consular agents in that country were unable to obtain a single copy. With some difficulty the colonial authorities procured one, when it was found to be just such a production as might be expected from an enthusiastic man with strong national feeling and a single object—that of creating sympathy—in view.

Mr. Ohrig failed to induce men of sufficient capital to take shares in his projected association, so the firm of Klyn & Co., of which he was a partner, had a small vessel built on their own account, in which they shipped an assortment of goods for Natal. This vessel, called the *Brazilia*, arrived at her destination on the 24th of March 1842. She had as supercargo a man named Johan Arnaud Smellekamp, who was full of enthusiasm for the cause of the emigrants, and who was gifted with a fair share of ability and perseverance.

The arrival of this vessel at a time when men's minds were dejected at the prospect of the renewed English occupation had an extraordinary effect upon the emigrants. They persuaded themselves that the government of the

Netherlands would certainly aid them in resistance. Mr. Smellekamp and Skipper Reus of the *Brazilia* paid a visit to Maritzburg, and were met some distance from the town by a large party of young men, who unyoked the oxen and themselves drew the waggon in which the strangers were seated. All the bunting and red and blue calico in the place was turned into flags, and above scores of house tops and waggon tents waved the tricolour of the Netherlands. The volksraad formally welcomed the visitors as representatives of the fatherland. Then there were religious services, and strong men were observed to shed tears when a distribution was made of a number of bibles and books of devotion, which had been sent out as a present by Mr. Jacob Swart, lecturer and examiner at the naval college of Amsterdam. The eight days that Messrs. Smellekamp and Reus spent at Maritzburg were days of public meetings, feasting, and religious services. Mr. Ohrig's pamphlet was read by many who had seldom read anything but their bibles and hymn-books before, and by a strange perversion it was taken to convey the views of the Dutch government.

Mr. Smellekamp was furnished by the volksraad with funds, and was sent back to Holland to negotiate a treaty and procure clergymen and schoolmasters. He left Maritzburg on the 30th of April, and was accompanied overland to Graaff-Reinet by the landdrost, Mr. J. N. Boshof. From Graaff-Reinet he proceeded to Swellendam, where he was arrested under the obsolete proclamation of the 25th of February 1806 for travelling without a pass, and was forwarded as a prisoner to Capetown. There he was kept two days in confinement, but as he did not choose to reveal anything and evidence against him was not obtainable, he was released and allowed to embark for Europe.

The greater portion of the cargo of the *Brazilia* was found unsuitable for the requirements of the emigrants. Skipper Reus therefore, after disposing of as much as he could, sailed for Batavia just before Captain Smith reached Durban.

The assertion of the deputation on the 5th of May that the republic was under the protection of Holland was thus really in accordance with what the emigrants had deluded themselves into believing would soon be the truth. Captain Smith, however, treated the statement with derision.

Messengers were now sent by Commandant-General Pretorius in all haste to Potchefstroom and Winburg to ask for aid. Chief-Commandant Potgieter refused to take part in resistance to the English troops, but Commandant Mocke called out his burghers and prepared to go down to Natal. The burghers of Pietermaritzburg and Weenen were in the meantime gathering at Kongela. On the 9th of May Captain Smith with a hundred soldiers marched towards Kongela with the intention of calling upon the farmers to disperse, but on the way he was met by Mr. Pretorius, and after a short parley he returned to his camp. Captain Smith stated afterwards that he returned because Mr. Pretorius agreed to withdraw his men from Kongela. Mr. Pretorius asserted that he had promised nothing more than to remain quiet until the volksraad should meet, unless he was molested. On the 11th a party of armed farmers paraded in sight of the English forces, in Captain Smith's opinion to provoke an attack.

On the 17th Captain Smith wrote to Mr. Pretorius, but his letter was returned unopened, on the ground of its not being addressed with the title of commandant-general. On the same day the volksraad met at Kongela, and instructed Mr. Pretorius to write to Captain Smith, demanding that he should leave the port before noon on the 19th and march back beyond the boundaries of the republic. Captain Smith declined to receive the letter. On the 20th two messengers from Mr. Pretorius visited the English camp and verbally demanded that the troops should leave at once. Captain Smith's reply was laconic: "I shall not go, I shall stay."

During this time two vessels had arrived at Natal and crossed the bar. One was a brig named the *Pilot,* with provisions and munitions of war from Capetown. Her cargo

was discharged at the Point, and to protect it a guard of twenty-three men under a sergeant was stationed there. The other was a schooner named the *Mazeppa*, from Algoa Bay with merchandise for the traders and some private property of the military officers.

On the 23rd of May the farmers took possession of a large number of transport cattle belonging to the commissariat train, this being the first overt act of hostility.*

That night at eleven o'clock Captain Smith left his camp at the head of one hundred and nine men of the 27th regiment, eighteen of the royal artillery, eight sappers, and two Cape mounted riflemen, for the purpose of attacking the farmers at Kongela, who were known from an intercepted letter to be then two hundred and sixty-four strong. A large gun was placed in a boat, with orders to the boatmen to convey it to a spot where the troops would receive it.

The attack was badly planned. It was clear moonlight, yet it was hoped to take the farmers by surprise. The boat could reach its destination at high water only, and

* Since the issue of the previous editions of this volume, in which the seizure of the cattle by force with the intention of retaining them was stated to be doubtful, owing to the conflicting accounts of the two parties, I have seen a letter which sets the matter at rest. It is one of a number of documents of the time that were removed to Amsterdam after the British took possession of Natal, and are still in that city, where I had the benefit of their perusal. Written by Commandant-General Pretorius himself, and addressed to the landdrost of Weenen, there can be no question as to its being conclusive evidence against those who have asserted that there was no intention to keep the cattle, that they had got mingled with the farmers' herds on the grazing ground, and would have been sent back as soon as they could be separated. The following is an extract from this letter:

"Hoofkwartier Congella avond van den 23 Meij, 1842.

"Nadat wij alle consideratie gebruikt heeft met de troepen en op alle manieren geprobeerd heeft om met Capteijn Smit in onderhandeling te komen om optebreeken en te vertrekken zelfs nog heden oggend heb ik een paar man na hem gezonden nog voor het laats. Daarop zijn wij overgegaan zijn ossen in beslag te nemen waarop hij overging om vris met de canon op ons te schieten zelfs met de geweren, maar heeft niets uitgevoer. Wij zullen niet opgeven voordat wij zullen gedaan hebben wat in ons vermogen zijn endien er menschen van agter aankompt laten zij toch met de meeste spoet aankoomen de menschen die hier zijn is nog soo vol moet en so eensgezind als een eenig man om onze eer en vrijheid te verdedigen."

the troops, by the route taken, theirs only when the tide was out. The distance was a march of about three miles, and the road was along a patch of dense thicket. There is but one way of accounting for such a movement, and that is on the supposition that the commanding officer altogether underrated the vigilance and courage of his opponents.

The troops were marching fully exposed past the thicket, with two field-pieces drawn by bullocks, when a sharp fire was opened upon them. They returned the volley, but without doing the slightest damage to the farmers, who were well protected and thoroughly concealed. Another discharge from the thicket wounded some of the oxen, which broke loose from the yokes and rushed furiously about, adding to the confusion. There was no remedy but retreat. Sixteen killed and thirty-one wounded were found by the farmers on the ground next day; but when the roll was called, fifty out of the hundred and thirty-eight men who formed the expedition were not there to answer to their names. The three missing are supposed in the confusion to have got into deep water, and to have been drowned. The two guns, the oxen, and indeed everything that could be left behind, fell into the hands of the farmers.

Captain Smith was closely followed to his camp, where he prepared for defence. There was, however, no attempt to storm the position, but until dawn a desultory fire was kept up, by which one farmer—Abraham Greyling by name—was killed. At sunrise the farmers returned to their quarters. The wounded soldiers were carefully tended, and as there was no medical man at Kongela, they were all sent to the English camp in the course of the day. The dead bodies of the soldiers were also sent to the camp for burial by their late comrades.

Mr. Richard King, an old resident at Durban, who was an expert horseman and thoroughly acquainted with the route and the tribes to the southward, now undertook to ride overland to Grahamstown with intelligence of the

disaster. Mr. George Christopher Cato, who since 1839 had been agent at Natal for the mercantile establishment of Mr. John Owen Smith of Port Elizabeth, ferried him across the inlet, so as to avoid passing the farmers' quarters; and King, though fired at, got safely away.

The 25th passed without any event of importance. The troops were busily engaged strengthening their camp, in hourly expectation of an attack, but no enemy appeared.

Just before daylight on the morning of the 26th about a hundred farmers presented themselves at the Point, and called upon the sergeant in command of the guard there to surrender. This he refused to do, whereupon they opened fire, killing two soldiers and an old English resident named Charles Adams, and wounding two soldiers. The sergeant then surrendered, when an eighteen-pounder, with all the stores and ammunition brought by the *Pilot*, fell into the hands of the farmers. This was immediately followed by the seizure of the *Pilot* and the *Mazeppa*, but with the exception of the masters no one was removed from these vessels. The property of Captain Smith and of such other persons as were in arms against the republic was declared confiscated by the volksraad, and a party of men under direction of Messrs. Michiel and Servaas van Breda went on board the *Mazeppa* and removed it. Mr. Pretorius then sent to propose that the troops should leave in the *Pilot* and the *Mazeppa;* and Captain Smith agreed to a truce until the 31st of the month, under pretence of considering the matter. His real object was to gain time to strengthen his defences and increase his supply of provisions by salting down cattle which Mr. William Cowie and some other residents of Durban were conveying to the camp by night.

The negotiations for removal of course came to nothing, and at six o'clock in the morning of the 31st of May the camp was invested and fire was opened upon it from the farmers' batteries, on which were mounted the eighteen-pounder taken at the Point and the two six-pounders taken on the night of the 23rd. Sixteen of the soldiers captured

at the Point, together with ten English residents of Durban who had assisted the troops—G. C. Cato, F. Armstrong, S. Beningfield, J. Douglas, J. Hogg, H. Ogle, H. Parkins, D. Toohey, F. McCabe, and B. Schwikkard—were sent as prisoners to Maritzburg.

On the 1st of June the reverend Mr. Archbell, then Wesleyan missionary at Durban, was requested by Mr. Pretorius to go to the camp with a flag of truce, and propose that the women and children should be removed for safety to the *Mazeppa*. The offer was gladly accepted, and twenty-eight individuals in all, including the wives and children of several of the prisoners at Maritzburg, took refuge on board that vessel.

Captain Smith then determined to defend himself to the last extremity. He had caused deep trenches to be dug, in which the soldiers could remain in security, and he increased his stock of provisions by slaughtering his horses and drying their flesh. The men were put upon short allowance, which, as the siege advanced, became less and less, until they had nothing more than a few ounces of biscuit dust and dried horseflesh daily. Fortunately there was no want of water, which was obtained from wells sunk within the camp.

The arrival of Commandant Mocke with a large contingent raised the force under command of Mr. Pretorius to six hundred men. They fortified the entrance to the inner harbour, and pressed the siege with vigour. Their cannon balls having become exhausted, they manufactured others by casting leaden ones over links cut from a chain cable. But so well were the soldiers protected that the fire against them was almost harmless, only eight men being killed and eight wounded on the British side during the twenty-six days that the siege lasted, though six hundred and fifty-one cannon shot were fired at the camp. On the other side four men were killed, and eight or ten—the exact number cannot be given—were wounded.

On the 10th of June the crew of the *Mazeppa* managed to slip the cable and get to sea, being in hope of meeting

with a British ship-of-war, from which relief could be obtained. There was very little food and no ballast on board, and the schooner had to run the gauntlet at the Point, sailing slowly along, with a light breeze, at a distance of only thirty yards from eighty farmers armed with muskets and a four-pounder. Her sails and rigging were pretty well cut up, but no one on board was hurt. She ran northward as far as Delagoa Bay, and then, having met with no assistance, put about and found the frigate *Southampton* at the outer anchorage of Natal.

Famine was beginning to tell upon the soldiers, and they could have held out only a very short time longer, when in the evening of the 24th of June rockets flashing through the air over the outer anchorage announced that relief was at hand. All that night and the next day the famished soldiers watched and waited in vain. As night fell on the 25th rockets were again seen shooting skyward, and soon after dark the booming of heavy guns far out at sea was heard.

When Richard King reached Grahamstown with intelligence of the disaster at Natal, one hundred rank and file of the 27th regiment, under Captain Durnford, were at once sent by Colonel Hare to Port Elizabeth, and were there embarked in a coasting schooner named the *Conch*, which was chartered as a transport. Captain Bell, the master of this vessel, had been to Natal before, and was well acquainted with the harbour. On the 11th of June the *Conch* sailed from Algoa Bay. She arrived at the outer anchorage of Natal on the 24th, and sent up the rockets that evening which were seen from the camp.

As soon as the news reached Capetown, a wing of the 25th regiment, then under orders for India, was embarked in the frigate *Southampton*. Lieutenant-Colonel Abraham Josias Cloete, deputy-quarter-master-general of the forces in South Africa and a member of one of the oldest European families in the country, was directed to take command. The *Southampton* sailed from Simon's Bay on the 14th of June. She arrived off Natal during the night of the 25th,

and it was the booming of her guns in answer to the rockets from the *Conch* which was heard in the camp.

A few additional troops and some stores were sent from Table Bay on the 15th of June in a chartered brig named the *Maid of Mona*, but she did not reach Natal in time to be of any service.

On Sunday the 26th of June 1842 a light breeze was blowing from the south-east, of which Colonel Cloete determined to take advantage. The Bluff at the entrance to the inner harbour was occupied by three hundred and fifty farmers, who could pour down a torrent of musket balls upon the deck of any vessel attempting to pass. The *Southampton* was therefore brought as close to the bar as was considered prudent, and from that position she opened her broadside and dispersed all who were within reach of her guns.

To the hundred men already on board the *Conch* thirty-five were added, and eighty-five were embarked in boats and taken in tow. Colonel Cloete himself was in command of the party, and Captain Hill, of the royal navy, was in charge of the boats. A line was run along the schooner a couple of feet above her bulwarks, and was covered with the soldiers' blankets, to prevent the men on deck from being aimed at. Having taken this precaution, all sail was set on the *Conch*, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, with the wind and tide in her favour, she crossed the bar, passing under the farmers' fire with the loss of three soldiers killed and three soldiers and two sailors wounded.

The troops were landed without further resistance, for the farmers were already retreating. At four o'clock Colonel Cloete met Captain Smith, and the camp was relieved.

Commandant Mocke and the burghers from beyond the mountains now abandoned the cause, and returned to their homes. The farmers of Natal also deserted in such numbers that Mr. Pretorius was soon left without power of resistance. He therefore formed a camp a few miles inland, and awaited the course of events.

Colonel Cloete, as senior in rank, assumed command of the whole of the troops in Natal. And now another difficulty arose. The *Conch* had hardly any provisions on board, the *Maid of Mona* had not yet arrived, and a sudden gale sprang up which compelled the *Southampton* to put to sea before anything of consequence could be landed. Under these circumstances the fresh troops were in danger of suffering from hunger as much as those they had been the means of relieving.

Some hundreds of blacks were hovering about the neighbourhood. Their condition had greatly improved since the occupation of the country by the white people, and they were now in possession of small herds of cattle and plenty of maize, pumpkins, and tobacco, the products of their gardens. Certainly they had no reason to take part against the farmers, but on this, as on every other occasion of the kind of which South African history furnishes a record, the Bantu were ready to join the winning cause. Panda even, the vassal of the emigrants, showed himself no exception to this rule. When Captain Smith was in almost desperate circumstances he managed to communicate with the Zulu chief, whom he vainly entreated to come to his aid. "No," was the reply, "you are now fighting for the upper hand, and whichever wins must be my master." So he refused to assist either party. But as soon as the troops proved the strongest, he sent messengers to Colonel Cloete to say that he was about to march against the farmers, and it was only when he was informed that he must not do so that he abandoned the project.

In his necessity Colonel Cloete called upon the blacks in the neighbourhood of Durban to bring him all the horses and cattle they could get, and they, interpreting this order into a general plundering license, commenced to ravage the nearest farms. Three emigrants, named Dirk van Rooyen, Theunis Oosthuizen, and Cornelis van Schalkwyk, were murdered in cold blood. Mr. Pretorius sent a letter of remonstrance against these proceedings to Colonel Cloete,

who replied that he would endeavour to prevent excesses, but that he could not withdraw the order. "You," wrote he, "have caused this state of things by rebelling, and you must bear the consequences."

Colonel Cloete then called upon the farmers to acknowledge that they were the queen's subjects, and to break up their military organisation. Mr. Pretorius replied by letter on the 4th of July, that it was impossible to accede to conditions which required as a preliminary step a declaration of submission to the queen's authority. He stated that the emigrants had already made over the country to the king of the Netherlands, and had called upon that power to protect them, so that they had every reason to expect that their cause would be supported in Europe.

The farmers now retired to Maritzburg, where a meeting of the volksraad took place at which the discussions were so stormy and the language of party recrimination was so violent that the best men lost all hope of being able to defend the country. Messrs. Pretorius, Boshof, Landman, and others thereupon sent an invitation to Colonel Cloete to visit Maritzburg for the purpose of talking matters over, and they guaranteed perfect safety and full freedom in going and returning.

The colonel accepted the invitation, and on the 14th of July, accompanied by Major D'Urban and Lieutenants Napier, Maclean, and Fuller, he entered the emigrant capital. Confusion is but a weak word to describe the condition of affairs there. One little group after another had gone to their farms, declaring they would take no part in any arrangement whatever. Mr. J. N. Boshof, who was then elected president, Mr. Pretorius, and Mr. Landman were using all their influence to induce the excited farmers to come to terms, but the argument that had most effect was that by doing so time would be gained for Holland to interfere in their behalf. On the 15th of July half of the members of the volksraad consented to the following conditions :—

1. The immediate release of all prisoners, whether soldiers or civilians.

2. The giving up of all cannon, those taken from the troops as well as others, with the ammunition and stores belonging to them.

3. The restitution of all public and private property that had been seized and was then in their possession.

These conditions were signed by Mr. Boshof and eleven other members of the volksraad, and with a declaration of their submission to the authority of the queen, comprised all that they engaged to do.

On the other hand Colonel Cloete agreed to a general amnesty, excepting only the persons of Joachim Prinsloo, late president, Jacobus Johannes Burger, late secretary of the volksraad, and Michiel and Servaas van Breda, who had removed the goods from the *Mazeppa;* to respect all private property; to permit the farmers to return to their homes with their guns and horses, and to protect them against the blacks; not to interfere with the existing administration or civil institutions until the pleasure of the queen should be made known, except in the district bounded on the east by the Umgeni, on the west by the Umlazi, and on the north by a line along the crest of the Berea hills and the ridges between those rivers, which district was to be under the exclusive control of the commander of the troops; to leave all revenue at the disposal of the volksraad, except the port and customs dues, which were to belong to the crown; and not to disturb the blacks on any lands then occupied by them.

Matters having been arranged in this manner, Colonel Cloete returned to Capetown with four companies of the 25th, to be in readiness to embark for India. An old tender named the *Fawn*, under command of Lieutenant Joseph Nourse, was sent to Natal with a strong armed crew, and was anchored in the inner harbour, where she served as a floating fort until June 1844, when she was sold as a hulk. Upon her arrival the remaining company of the 25th was

withdrawn, and the late commanding officer, now entitled Major Smith, was left with a garrison consisting of two hundred and seventy-five men of the 27th, twelve Cape mounted riflemen, twenty-four artillerymen, and twenty engineers.

These arrangements seem incapable of being misunderstood; yet the great majority of the emigrants afterwards maintained that they implied nothing more than a truce of six months. The volksraad continued its functions, and party feeling ran as high as ever. Mr. Pretorius resigned his office, and Mr. Gerrit Rudolph was appointed commandant-general in his stead, as if the country was perfectly independent. On the 11th of August Sir George Napier issued a proclamation offering a reward of £250 for the apprehension of each of the four persons excepted from the amnesty, but they continued to live as publicly as before, and no one thought of disturbing them.

CHAPTER XXXI.

NATAL IN A TRANSITION STATE. 1842 TO 1845.

WHILE the events narrated in the last chapter were taking place, important despatches concerning Natal were passing between Sir George Napier and Lord Stanley.

On the 6th of December 1841 the governor wrote that he was resuming military occupation of the port, and recommending that a colony should be established there.

Lord Stanley replied on the 10th of April 1842 that many considerations concurred to dissuade the imperial government from increasing its responsibilities in South Africa. They were derived from a general survey of the extent of the British possessions in different parts of the world, from the magnitude of the naval and military forces required for their defence, and from the demands to which the national revenue was already subject. He believed that the establishment of a colony at Natal would be attended with little prospect of advantage, that for many years it would be a serious charge upon the revenues of the parent state, that it would tend to disperse the population and impair the resources of the Cape Colony, and that it would bring Great Britain into new and hazardous relations with aboriginal tribes. He instructed the governor to inform the emigrants that their pretensions to be regarded as an independent state or community could not be admitted, that the allegiance which they owed to the British crown was an obligation which it was not in their power to disclaim or violate with impunity, that within the limits of her Majesty's dominions they would receive from their sovereign effective

protection of their persons and property, and that by removing beyond the boundaries they forfeited their claim to protection, though they did not absolve themselves from responsibility to the queen for their conduct.

The governor was directed further to offer an amnesty and pardon to all who would return to the Cape Colony within a specified time, and to render every assistance in his power to facilitate their doing so. Those who should persist in residing in the territories of which they had taken possession were to be informed that her Majesty's government would adopt every practicable method of preventing commercial intercourse and communication between them and the people of the Cape Colony; that if they should presume to molest the Kaffir tribes with which her Majesty was in alliance, military aid would be afforded to the tribes; and that any of the emigrants found in arms against the forces of their sovereign, whether beyond or within the precincts of the colony, would be regarded by the queen as rebels, and be liable to be dealt with accordingly.

Finally the governor was instructed to desire the admiral on the station to intercept all supplies sent by sea to Natal, and immediately to withdraw the military detachment from the port.

On the 25th of July Sir George Napier wrote, acknowledging the receipt of this despatch, and stating that he took upon himself the responsibility of not carrying the instructions into effect until he should have a reply to what he was then communicating. At great length he explained his views. He had come to South Africa, he said, determined to uphold the policy of the secretary of state, by refusing on every occasion to listen to schemes which contemplated an enlargement of the territorial limits of the Cape Colony; but he had changed that opinion. He then reviewed the events that led to the existing condition of affairs, and stated that he could not protect the blacks or control the inland trade as Lord Stanley desired without a much greater force than he had at his disposal. The occupation of Port

Natal was necessary as a check upon unrestricted commerce. The facility with which munitions of war could be smuggled through that port, if it were not in English hands, was very great. In conclusion, he referred to the disastrous consequences to friendly whites and blacks of the withdrawal of the troops, and maintained that keeping possession and colonising the country from the Tugela to the Umzimkulu was the best course that could be followed under the circumstances.

On the 12th of October Lord Stanley replied that he considered the governor justified in not withdrawing the troops from Natal. He approved of the provisional measures taken, and would bring the question before his colleagues.

On the 13th of December he wrote again, instructing the governor to send a commissioner to Natal to investigate matters there and report upon them. He was to inform the inhabitants that the queen approved of the amnesty, that they were taken under her protection, and that they would be allowed to retain all lands actually occupied for twelve months previous to the commissioner's arrival. The revenue from land and customs would be vested in the queen and applied exclusively to the maintenance of the civil government. Her Majesty was anxious to place the institutions of the country upon such a footing as might be most acceptable to the people, consistent with her authority, and the commissioner was therefore to invite an expression of opinion. In legislation, however, the queen reserved the most entire freedom of action. The commissioner was to understand that he was sent to collect information, and not authorised to make any definite arrangements. Whatever might be the institutions ultimately sanctioned, three conditions were absolutely essential, namely:—

1. That there should not be, in the eye of the law, any distinction or disqualification whatever, founded on mere difference of colour, origin, language, or creed; but that the protection of the law, in letter and in substance, should be extended impartially to all alike.

2. That no aggression should be sanctioned upon the natives residing beyond the limits of the colony, under any plea whatever, by any private person or any body of men, unless acting under the immediate authority and orders of the government.

3. That slavery in any shape or under any modification should be absolutely unlawful, as in every other portion of her Majesty's dominions.

This despatch was received in Capetown on the 23rd of April 1843, and on the 12th of May Sir George Napier issued a proclamation appointing Advocate Henry Cloete her Majesty's commissioner for the district of Port Natal, and announcing that this district, "according to such convenient limits as should be fixed upon and defined, would be recognised and adopted by the queen as a British colony." All farms occupied for twelve months before the commissioner's arrival would be registered by him, and their possession be confirmed to the occupants. Advocate Cloete was a brother of Colonel A. J. Cloete, and a member of the legislative council of the Cape. On the 5th of June he and his secretary, Mr. C. J. Buissinne, arrived at Natal, where the emigrants were found in a state of unusual excitement.

On the 8th of the preceding month the schooner *Brazilia* had again anchored in the roadstead. She was from Rotterdam, with a clearance for Mauritius, but her real destination was Natal. Upon Mr. Smellekamp's return to Holland, the government of the Netherlands not only declined to countenance any act that could be construed into encouraging the emigrants to resist British authority, but threatened to enforce with stringency its laws against its subjects taking part in hostilities against a friendly power. Baron Kattendycke, then minister for foreign affairs, gave the strongest assurance to that effect to the British representative at the Hague, and a copy of his assurance was printed in South Africa and circulated by the government with a view of informing the emigrants how

vain were their expectations of aid from that quarter. They, however, professed to regard it as not authentic.

But if the government of the Netherlands disclaimed sympathy with the emigrants, many Dutch subjects were their enthusiastic advocates. A society was formed at Amsterdam, termed the "commission for supplying the religious wants of the inhabitants at Natalia." It was composed of persons of respectability and wealth, and was directed by a committee of clergymen of the Dutch reformed church, Mr. Swart, who has been already mentioned, being its guiding spirit. This commission engaged the services of a young licentiate named Ham and a schoolmaster named Martineau as pioneers to the emigrant republic.

A small trading company was also formed at Amsterdam, Mr. Swart and Mr. Ohrig being leading men in it. The *Brazilia* was engaged, and for the second time sent out, with Mr. Smellekamp as chief director, Mr. and Mrs. Ham and Mr. Martineau, who were to place themselves at the disposal of the volksraad, and an assistant trader, who was to set up a store at Port Natal. Upon the *Brazilia* casting anchor, Skipper Reus and Mr. Smellekamp went ashore, but were not permitted by Major Smith to communicate with any one except himself and his officers. Lieutenant Nourse, of the *Fawn*, went on board the *Brazilia* and examined her cargo with the expressed intention of detaining her if he should find any munitions of war. Nothing of the kind was discovered, and the skipper and director were allowed to return to their vessel after being informed by Major Smith that he would permit nothing whatever to be landed unless they produced a clearance from a port of the Cape Colony.

The *Brazilia* then sailed for Delagoa Bay, where Mrs. Ham died. The schoolmaster had died on the passage out. Messrs. Smellekamp and Ham landed at Lourenço Marques with their personal property and some cases of books sent out by the Amsterdam commission, and the *Brazilia* proceeded to Java to look for a market for her cargo.

By Major Smith's action the farmers were thoroughly convinced that the document circulated by Sir George Napier was spurious, and that Mr. Smellekamp was expelled because he had something important to tell them.

Another matter causing great excitement was an influx of an enormous number of Zulus, which was then taking place. Panda, upon suspicion that some of his subjects were conspiring against him, had recently put his brother Xoxo to death with the usual circumstances of barbarity, had caused his brother's wives to be ripped up and the brains of their children to be dashed out, and was proceeding to exterminate all whom he suspected, when a great rush was made into Natal. In the course of eight or ten days it was calculated that no fewer than fifty thousand individuals of both sexes and all ages crossed the Tugela to be under the white man's protection. The principal fugitive was a chieftainess of high rank, a widow of Senzangakona, named Mawa, from whom this inroad is commonly called in the documents of that day "the flight of Mawa."

Panda sent messengers to Major Smith to demand that the fugitives should be compelled to return, and that the cattle they had taken with them should be given up, but the major refused to do either. He was horrified at the cruelty perpetrated upon Xoxo's family, and announced that he would protect Mawa and her people.

Fifty thousand strangers were wandering up and down Natal. Wherever the pasture suited them, or a locality took their fancy, there they settled for the time being. In terror many of the farmers abandoned their homes and sought safety in Maritzburg. They wanted a commando called out to clear the country, their view being that the fugitives should be compelled to return to Zululand, but should be located there in a district by themselves, and that Panda should be given clearly to understand that if he molested them the farmers would punish him severely. But Major Smith threatened to assist the fugitives if force

was used against them, so that the farmers were prevented from taking any action.

When Mr. Cloete reached Maritzburg, the machinery of the emigrant government, with the exception of the volksraad, was at a complete standstill. There was not a sixpence in the treasury. The salaries of the officials, petty as they were, were months in arrear, and there was no prospect of any of them ever being paid. Since the loss of the customs and the port dues, the receipts had been next to nothing. In all the country there was only one individual, an infirm half-breed, doing duty as a policeman. The landdrosts gave judgment when cases were brought before them, but they had no means of enforcing their decisions, consequently their sentences were in most instances disregarded.

On the 9th of June the commissioner had a meeting with four or five hundred of the inhabitants of Maritzburg, and made them a long address explaining the object of his visit and enlarging upon the advantages of a settled government under the English flag. When he had concluded, a farmer named Anthonie Fick rose up and read a resolution adopted at a mass meeting the day before, that the emigrants should not communicate with the British commissioner until they had seen Mr. Smellekamp. Immediately there was an uproar, which did not cease until the meeting dispersed. A little later in the day Mr. Cloete received a letter from the secretary Bodenstein, informing him that the volksraad had adjourned until the first Monday in August, to allow of deputies and "the public" from beyond the Drakensberg being present.

The commissioner, however, had by this time discovered that some of the best men in the country were prepared to accept the proposed government as offering the only alternative from anarchy. There was hardly one who had been in office but who candidly admitted that the republic of Natal was a failure. Mr. Jan Philip Zietsman, then landdrost of Maritzburg, waxed eloquent when describing

the utter impotency of its officials. Messrs. Joachim Prinsloo, Bernard Rudolph, A. W. Pretorius, J. N. Boshof, C. P. Landman, and L. Badenhorst all gave the commissioner information to the same effect.

Mr. Cloete thereupon returned to Durban and requested Major Smith to occupy Maritzburg with two hundred and fifty soldiers, so as to support the well affected, before the meeting of the volksraad. The major considered that it would be imprudent to march inland with a smaller force than five hundred men, and as he had not so many under his command, he could not comply. The commissioner wrote to Sir George Napier, and two hundred rank and file of the 45th regiment, being all that could be spared, were sent from Capetown in the *Thunderbolt*, which reached Natal on the 21st of July; but the governor's opinion was against the proposed military movement, so that it did not take place.

In the mean time the commissioner called upon the inhabitants of Natal to send in their claims to land, with particulars of occupation, in order that the intentions of the secretary of state might be carried out. The majority of the people ignored him, however, and very few returns were sent in. As an instance, he reported to Sir George Napier that there were four hundred and fifty erven in Maritzburg, most of them built upon or cultivated, but after ample time had elapsed claims to only one hundred and twenty had been made. Beyond the Umzimkulu he believed there were no farms occupied then or during the previous twelve months, though he ascertained that some situated there were registered in the title book kept by the volksraad.

By the end of July armed bands of farmers from beyond the mountains began to arrive at Maritzburg. Mr. Cloete ascertained that there were no less than fourteen distinct parties, numbering altogether some ten thousand souls, who did not acknowledge the authority of either the volksraad or the adjunct raad. The two largest of these independent parties were under Commandants Mocke and Greyling. On

this occasion several of these communities claimed the right of taking part in the proceedings, on account of their South African blood. Commandant Mocke arrived at Maritzburg at the head of two hundred armed men, and was followed by eight or ten others, each with a small band of adherents.

On the 30th of July the commandants who were most opposed to submission, believing that there would be perfect unanimity with their views and desiring that the commissioner should see that the whole of the emigrants were determined to stand or fall together, wrote to Mr. Cloete inviting him to be present at Maritzburg on the 7th of August, and pledging themselves for his safety. This letter was signed by Commandant-General Gerrit Rudolf, Commandants Jan Kock, J. G. Mocke, J. P. Delport, and eighteen others. Mr. A. W. Pretorius wrote separately to Mr. Cloete, assuring him of personal safety.

On Saturday the 5th of August the commissioner arrived at Maritzburg from Durban, and found six or seven hundred armed men in the town. The volksraad was to meet on the 7th. At the close of 1842 twenty-four members had been elected as usual for the ensuing year, but eight of these had never taken their seats. Among these eight were Messrs. J. N. Boshof and A. W. Pretorius. The sixteen members met on Monday the 7th, and were joined by two of those who had previously abstained from taking part in the proceedings. The commandants from beyond the Drakensberg then demanded that an entirely new volksraad of thirty-six members should be elected by the whole of the emigrants. To this the eighteen members objected, and they refused to resign; but they passed a resolution to allow the emigrants from beyond the mountains to fill up the number to thirty-six.

At this stage Commandant Mocke, finding his party less powerful than he had expected it to be, withdrew from the deliberations, heaping abuse upon his opponents. The commissioner feared every moment that blood would be shed, for several hundred armed men, violently agitated, were quarrelling with each other, some stamping their guns

upon the ground amid an uproar of voices. The ferment was at length allayed by the expostulations and entreaties of Messrs. A. W. Pretorius and Joachim Prinsloo, and at a late hour of the night the crowd dispersed, after an arrangement by which the volksraad was made up to thirty-two members, namely twenty-four for Natal and eight for Winburg and Potchefstroom.

On the morning of Tuesday the 8th the enlarged volksraad met, and Mr. Stephanus Maritz was chosen president. At his instigation a discussion was brought on as to the extent in which the people beyond the mountains would be affected by any arrangement with the commissioner, and it was observed that they had not been parties to the agreement with Colonel Cloete in the preceding year. A deputation was sent to the commissioner's lodgings to ask him how far the queen intended to assert her authority, to which he replied that he could not say, but that he intended to recommend the Drakensberg as the future boundary of Natal. The members for Winburg and Potchefstroom then determined to withdraw, as they said the settlement of the question would not affect them.

The deliberations were continued with incessant clamour. At length a resolution was adopted offering to surrender absolutely and unconditionally a strip of country along the coast, if the commissioner would receive it with defined limits; but when this offer was made he stated that he had no power to accept such a cession, and that the queen's government alone could decide finally upon the question of boundaries.

The proceedings were next interrupted by a mass meeting of the women of Maritzburg. The commissioner good-naturedly went into the court-room where they were assembled, when he found every means of getting out closed against him. For two hours he was obliged to listen to an impassioned harangue from Mrs. Smit, the wife of the infirm clergyman, in which their grievances were enumerated, and which was followed by the unanimous declaration that

rather than submit to English rule again they would march barefoot over the mountains to liberty or death.

After this interruption the volksraad proceeded with its debates, and recognising the fact that resistance was out of the question, resolved upon endeavouring to obtain the best terms possible. A deputation waited upon the commissioner and informed him that the members were unanimous in their decision to submit to the queen's authority, if only the first of the three conditions laid down as essential in the secretary of state's despatch could be modified. They were quite prepared to agree to the second and third of those conditions in letter and in spirit, but they saw insurmountable difficulties in the way of carrying out the first. If nature herself had not made a great constitutional difference between white men and black, the training of the two races during countless generations had been so unlike that it seemed to the volksraad impossible that they should live harmoniously together under exactly the same laws. As well might one put the horse and the ox in the same yoke. Could not the first condition be modified and so expressed as to prevent any oppression or injustice to the blacks, without putting them upon precisely the same political footing as the whites?

Mr. Cloete replied that it was beyond his power to make the slightest departure from the letter of the conditions.

The volksraad then gave way to necessity, and with only one dissentient voice resolved to submit. As evening was setting in the members forwarded a declaration to the commissioner, in which they agreed to accept the three conditions. The declaration was signed by J. S. Maritz, president, M. G. Potgieter, P. F. R. Otto, P. H. Zietsman, B. Poortman, W. S. Pretorius, S. A. Cilliers, G. Z. Naude, G. R. van Rooyen, C. P. Botma, L. J. Meyer, E. F. Potgieter, P. R. Nel, A. F. Spies, P. G. Human, J. A. Kriel, W. A. van Aardt, G. C. Viljoen, Gerrit Snyman, H. S. van den Berg, A. L. Visagie, M. Prinsloo, C. A. Botma, and N. J. S. Basson.

On the 9th the whole of the farmers from beyond the mountains left Maritzburg to return to their homes, denouncing in bitter language those who they said had betrayed the cause of liberty by their submission to the English government. Many of the inhabitants of Natal were in the same frame of mind, and the subscribers to the declaration and those who thought with them were subjected to so many insults and annoyances that it became necessary to move troops to Maritzburg for their protection. On the 31st of August Major Smith with two hundred men and two guns arrived and took possession of a commanding hill at the west end of the town, where he formed a camp which in course of time developed into Fort Napier. The most determined among the farmers now abandoned their homes again, and moved over the Drakensberg, so that at the close of the year there were not more than five hundred emigrant families left in Natal.*

It was arranged that until the appointment of officials by the English government the volksraad should continue to act as before, and that it should make known the wishes of the inhabitants as to the future administration of the country. On the 4th of September the discussion on this subject closed, and Mr. Cloete was requested by letter to recommend that Natal should be constituted a colony distinct from that of the Cape of Good Hope, with the machinery of government as simple and inexpensive as possible.

The volksraad desired that there should be a legislative council of twelve members, elected by the burghers for two years, six to form a quorum. That no one should be entitled to vote unless he was in possession of landed property to the value of £150, a resident in the country for six months, and able to read and write the English or the Dutch language. That the governor should have power to sanction

*This is the highest computation, and is that of the reverend Abraham Faure, who made a pastoral tour through Natal at this time at the instance of the Cape government. The reverend Mr. Lindley's computation at the close of 1843 was three hundred and sixty-five families. No census was taken by the landdrosts.

or reject laws enacted by the council, those approved of to have immediate effect. That the landdrosts should have jurisdiction without appeal in criminal cases to the extent of sentencing to a fine of thirty shillings or fourteen days' imprisonment, and in civil cases of less value than thirty shillings. That the landdrosts with two heemraden or justices of the peace should have jurisdiction without appeal in criminal cases to the extent of sentencing to a fine of five pounds, a month's imprisonment, or twenty-five lashes, and in civil cases of less value than five pounds. That courts of landdrost and heemraden should hold monthly sessions. That a circuit court composed of two or more landdrosts and two or more heemraden, with a jury of nine persons, should sit once in six months to try more serious cases. That no sentence of death, transportation, or imprisonment for more than two years, should be executed without the governor's fiat. That the governor should have a right of mitigation or remission of punishment. That the governor with two or more members of the executive council should sit once in three months as a court of appeal in civil cases. That with the exception of local enactments the laws should be those of the Cape Colony. That the language of the courts of law should be Dutch, except where the majority of the inhabitants of a district spoke English. That the inhabitants of each district should every two years nominate eight persons, of whom the governor should select four as heemraden. That the landdrosts should be elected by the people of their districts, but be confirmed by the governor, who should have power of rejection. That all inferior officers should be appointed by the governor alone. That every town or village, at the request of the inhabitants, should be constituted a municipality. That religion should be free, that there should be no state church, but that all should be entitled to protection. That education should be provided for by the legislature. That all grants of land made by the volksraad should remain undisturbed. That trade should be permitted with

all nations, except the bordering tribes until laws could be framed to forbid the sale of guns and ammunition. That paper money should not be forced into circulation. That there should be no compulsory military service. That the inland boundary of the colony should be the Drakensberg until the people beyond were willing to come under the queen's authority. And that the immigration of paupers should be prohibited.

The all-important subject of the recent influx of refugees from Zululand came next under discussion. Every emigrant in Natal felt that the question really was whether the country was to become a white or a black settlement. Its discussion occupied the volksraad two days, and resulted in a request to the commissioner to recommend that the refugees should be removed over the Tugela and the Umzimvubu, with the exception of such as should choose to take service, no farmer, however, being permitted to engage more than five families. The volksraad then adjourned.

Mr. Cloete as his next proceeding resolved upon paying Panda a visit. On the 18th of September he left Durban with that object, accompanied by his clerk — Mr. C. J. Buissinne, an interpreter—Mr. Joseph Kirkman, a guide—Mr. D. C. Toohey, and Messrs. Gerrit Rudolph and Henry Ogle, who went out of curiosity. On the 1st of October he had an interview with Panda, and found him prepared to comply with everything proposed. The Zulu chief must have felt that his position at the time was similar to that of Dingan in the early days of 1840, and that it would be dangerous to refuse anything asked of him.

The commissioner proposed a new boundary between Zululand and Natal, namely the Umzinyati or Buffalo river from its source to its junction with the Tugela, and thence the Tugela to the sea, instead of the Tugela along its whole course. Panda consented without demur, and on the 5th of October an agreement to this effect was drawn up in writing and was formally signed and witnessed. The new

boundary gave to Natal a large and valuable tract of country, but a portion of it was occupied by natives. In making this agreement the independence of the Zulu tribe was assumed, and after this date the authorities of Natal never spoke of Panda as a vassal or treated him as one.

On the same day, and by another formal document, the shores at the mouth of the Umvolosi river and the bay of St. Lucia were ceded by Panda to the queen, but the extent of land was not defined.

The commissioner's object in obtaining this cession was to prevent any foreign power from acquiring a harbour in the neighbourhood of the new colony, as well as to keep the farmers from renewing their efforts to obtain a seaport, for after the loss of Natal many of them declared their intention of opening a communication with the outside world through St. Lucia Bay. On these grounds the cession was subsequently confirmed by the imperial government, but Panda was informed that there was no intention of forming a settlement there. The arrangement making the Tugela and Buffalo rivers the northern boundary of Natal was also confirmed by the secretary of state, who at the same time directed that the Drakensberg should be the inland boundary, and that communication with the country beyond that range should be discouraged and as far as possible prevented, as the British government could not be responsible either for the conduct or the protection of any one there.

After leaving Panda's kraal, Mr. Cloete inspected St. Lucia Bay, and then returned to Durban, where he arrived on the 21st of October.

On the 28th of September Sir George Napier issued a proclamation placing Natal in the same relationship as any other British possession to the Cape Colony. Its exports were to be free of duty. Its imports were to pay the same duties as in the Cape Colony. This proclamation was supplemented by another issued on the 3rd of October, fixing the duty on Cape wines at half that payable on

wines from foreign countries, and on spirits at two shillings a gallon.

On the 21st of November the first civil servants were appointed by Sir George Napier. They were Mr. Samuel Woods, collector of customs, and Mr. George Prestwich, tide waiter. Mr. Woods was found dead in his room shortly afterwards, and Mr. William Swan Field was then appointed collector of customs.

The number of blacks in the territory—that is the former republic and the land between the Tugela and Buffalo rivers—was estimated by Mr. Cloete at this time to be at least between eighty and one hundred thousand. He recommended that they should be collected together in locations with defined boundaries, and placed under the authority of superintendents.

Messrs. Smellekamp and Ham were all this time at Lourenço Marques. The former wrote to the volksraad at Maritzburg that they need not expect aid from Holland, but in December Messrs. Joachim Prinsloo, Gerrit Rudolph, Cornelis Coetsee, and a youth named Bezuidenhout left Weenen on horseback, and rode to Delagoa Bay to have an interview with him. Mr. Smellekamp informed them of the position taken by the government of the Netherlands, and advised them to abandon Natal and move north of the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude, where the company which he represented could open a trade with them either through Delagoa Bay or some port farther up the coast. At Lourenço Marques three of the party were taken ill with fever, from the effects of which Mr. Coetsee died when endeavouring to return, and Mr. Prinsloo fourteen days after reaching home.

Soon after this Mr. Ham abandoned all hope of being able to serve the emigrants, and left Lourenço Marques in a vessel bound for Table Bay. The remainder of his life was spent as a clergyman in the Cape Colony. Mr. Smellekamp remained at Delagoa Bay, where he was visited by Commandant Potgieter and several others, to whom he gave the

same advice as to Mr. Prinsloo's party. In another chapter it will be seen that this counsel was followed.*

It was not intended by the secretary of state that the district of Natal should extend as far as the Umzimvubu river; but he left the south-western boundary to be fixed by the governor, with the single condition that it was not to embrace land occupied by any well-established tribe. Fodo and his people were living on the southern bank of the Umzimkulu, and that river was therefore selected by Sir Peregrine Maitland. In the opinion of his advisers it had also the advantage of cutting off from the district a large tract of country without a single port through which produce could be shipped, and therefore adapted only for pastoral purposes.

As regards the tribes with which the government had intercourse, the policy of the day was still to a great extent founded on the opinions of the reverend Dr. Philip, who desired the formation of powerful native states under missionary guidance. His plan was to select the best-disposed chief within a given area, and to enter into treaty arrangements with him. With this view, Sir Peregrine Maitland resolved to surrender to Faku all the territory south of the Umzimkulu, though the Pondos certainly could not have claimed with any show of right an inch of ground north of the Umtentu.

On the 7th of October 1844 a treaty was prepared and signed by Sir Peregrine Maitland at Fort Beaufort, and Messrs. Theophilus Shepstone and William Fynn were then sent to Faku with it. The reverend Thomas Jenkins explained the different clauses of the document, which Faku unhesitatingly agreed to, and on the 23rd of November the

* The *Brazilia* on her homeward passage from Java put into Delagoa Bay, and Mr. Smellekamp returned to Holland in her. In 1848 he was back in a vessel named the *Animo*, but fever and the tsetse prevented him from carrying out his plans. Undaunted still, he returned to Holland, and two years later tried again, as the agent of a new company by which a vessel named the *Vasco da Gama* was laden and sent out. His name will often appear in connection with events after that date.

marks of the chief and his son Ndamasi were affixed to it in presence of Messrs. Shepstone, Fynn, and Jenkins, and four of the leading Pondo councillors.

In this treaty Faku was acknowledged as paramount chief over the whole country between the Umtata and Umzimkulu rivers, from the Kathlamba mountains to the sea, and this territory was secured to him against all claims and pretensions on the part of British subjects. On the other hand it bound him to be the faithful friend of the Cape Colony, to use his best exertions to seize and deliver up refugee criminals, to facilitate the production of evidence, to make restitution for stolen cattle traced to his country, to protect travellers and the post passing through and traders and missionaries residing in his country, to prevent the landing of goods from ships not provided with colonial licenses, to avoid as far as possible making war with neighbouring tribes, to submit to the mediation of the colonial government any disputes with other chiefs which he could not settle peaceably, and to aid the colony with all his forces whenever called upon to do so.

When this treaty was signed, Sir Peregrine Maitland was aware that there were other tribes within the boundaries assigned to Faku, that they were frequently fighting with the Pondos, and that Faku exercised no jurisdiction over them. Of their past history and their claims to independence he knew nothing. But to set his conscience at rest concerning them the treaty contained a provision that the rights of all petty chiefs and tribes residing within the territory should remain unaltered, and that they should be allowed to live there in the same manner as before they were disturbed by the Zulu wars.

The treaty was one of a series which gave to certain chiefs claims to vast tracts of land which were not then in their possession, and never had been. On this account it could not fail to give offence to all except the favoured tribe. So far from preventing disturbances, it tended to increase them, as Faku now put forward claims to

supremacy, which the other chiefs naturally resisted. Feuds and constant strife remained as before. In July 1845 Ncapayi, the most formidable of Faku's opponents, was killed in battle; but he left his son Makaula to carry on hostilities. With the Pondomisis and the Xesibes also war with the Pondos remained the normal condition of things.

Sir Peregrine Maitland thought he was securing substantial advantages by the treaty. He informed the secretary of state that he hoped it would restrain the Xosas from rashly attempting hostile operations against the Cape Colony, by the knowledge that if they did so they would have in their rear an enemy more powerful than themselves, in alliance with the British government, and ready to fall on them with an overwhelming force. He thought also by it to secure a friendly neighbour on the south-western boundary of Natal, to keep an open road to the new dependency, and to prevent ships without a license from discharging cargo along the coast.

On the 25th of May 1844 Lord Stanley announced to Sir Peregrine Maitland that the form of government of Natal was decided upon. The district was to be a dependency of the Cape, though separate for judicial, financial, and executive purposes. All its communications with the secretary of state were to pass through the governor. It was to be provided with a lieutenant-governor, who was to be aided by an executive council of not more than five members, and this body could *recommend* such laws as it might consider necessary. On the 31st of May letters patent were issued under the great seal providing—

1. That Natal was to be part of the Cape Colony.

2. That nevertheless no colonial law or magistrate was, by virtue of the annexation, to have force or jurisdiction there.

3. That the governor and legislative council of the Cape Colony, acting in the regular manner, were to have authority to make such laws as should be needed.

The long delay in providing an effective government was tending to inspire the emigrants with hopes that perhaps after all Great Britain would leave them to themselves. In August 1844 a new volksraad was elected, as the old one had then been in existence a full year. When the members came together, most of them refused to take the oath of allegiance to the queen, and declared that they did not consider themselves bound by the deed of submission of their predecessors. Thereupon Major Smith dissolved the assembly, and announced that the old volksraad should continue to act. But this body also now showed a refractory spirit. Some recent acts of atrocity by Panda had caused the flight of more blacks into Natal, and the volksraad passed a resolution to eject them from all farms. Major Smith, however, notified that he would not permit the resolution to be carried out.

Nothing further was done by the imperial government until the 30th of April 1845, when a commission was issued providing that the governor of the Cape Colony when in Natal should supersede the lieutenant-governor, and empowering him to appoint provisionally, until the queen's pleasure could be made known, a lieutenant-governor under any of the following circumstances: (*a*) the death of the officer holding that appointment; (*b*) his absence from the territory; (*c*) his incapacity; (*d*) in the event of there being no one commissioned by the queen. Under the last of these clauses the secretary of state instructed the governor to appoint provisionally some one with the requisite qualifications.

On the 21st of August Sir Peregrine Maitland issued two proclamations: one defining the boundaries of Natal to be the right banks of the Tugela and Umzinyati rivers, the south-eastern base of the Drakensberg, and the principal western branch of the Umzimkulu to its junction with the main stream and thence that stream to the sea; the other announcing that "her Majesty the queen, by graciously establishing in the district of Natal a settled form of

government, was not to be understood as in the least renouncing her rightful and sovereign authority over any of her subjects residing or being beyond the limits of that district."

The selection of a staff of officials followed. Up to this date the only civil officers were the collector of customs and tidewaiter already mentioned, a postmaster at Durban—Mr. William Cowie—appointed on the 22nd of December 1844, a harbour master—Captain William Bell, previously master of the *Conch*—also appointed on the 22nd of December 1844, and a surveyor-general—Dr. William Stanger—appointed on the 2nd of January 1845. The American board having decided to withdraw its agents from Natal, in April 1844 Dr. Adams and the reverend Aldin Grout were offered situations as government missionaries with salaries of £150 a year each. Dr. Adams declined, but Mr. Grout acted in that capacity about a twelvemonth. Both then resumed connection with the American board, which not only reversed its previous decision, but increased the number of its agents. On the 28th of August 1845 Lieutenant-Colonel Edward French Boys, who had just succeeded Major Smith in command of the garrison of Fort Napier, Dr. Stanger, and Mr. W. S. Field were invested with the power of local magistrates.

On the 27th of August 1845 an ordinance was passed by the legislative council of the Cape Colony, establishing the Roman-Dutch as the fundamental law of Natal. Another ordinance, passed on the 16th of October, provided for the establishment of a court under a judge to be termed a recorder. Criminal cases were to be tried with a jury of nine men, and in certain circumstances before sentence was passed reference was to be made to the supreme court of the Cape Colony. In important civil cases also there was to be an appeal. The recorder was to be stationed at Maritzburg, where his ordinary duties were to be performed and the records of cases be preserved, but twice a year he was to hold a circuit court in the other divisions.

On the 13th of November Mr. Martin Thomas West, previously civil commissioner of Albany, was appointed provisionally lieutenant-governor of Natal, and was also provided with a commission as a magistrate under the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill. At the same time Advocate Henry Cloete was appointed recorder, Mr. Donald Moodie secretary to government, Mr. Walter Harding crown prosecutor, and a few days later Mr. Theophilus Shepstone diplomatic agent for natives.* On the 22nd of November Sir Peregrine Maitland named as members of an executive council the senior military officer, the secretary to government, the surveyor-general, the collector of customs, and the crown prosecutor. With the arrival of these officers on the 4th of December 1845 the new administration was established.

In 1845 the imports of Natal were to the value of £30,283 from the Cape Colony and £1,337 from foreign countries. The exports were ivory £3,557, hides £2,538, butter £2,246, maize £858, wool £232, and other produce £731, in all £10,162. The vessels that put in were twenty-one from the Cape Colony, two from Boston, and one from Sweden.

* By the word natives was meant all Bantu, whether born on the soil or refugees from beyond the border. The term, as employed in this country, has no reference to place of birth other than the continent of Africa, and it is used only of coloured people.

CHAPTER XXXII.

EVENTS NORTH OF THE ORANGE RIVER FROM 1837 TO 1843.

AMONG the first to realise the great change effected in South African affairs by the expulsion of Moselekatse from the territory south of the Limpopo and the overthrow of Dingan was the chief of the mountain, as Moshesh had come to be called, in reference to his stronghold of Thaba Bosigo. There was now a clear field to work in, and of all the men in the country he was the one most gifted with the talents necessary to take advantage of it. This is crediting him with powers of observation greater than those of all the officers of the colonial government and of all the missionaries with the different tribes. But it is no more than his due. For ages the Bantu have been developing this peculiar kind of intelligence, and Moshesh was the cleverest man that the race has produced in modern times.

It was several years after the fall of Dingan before the stupendous consequences of that event to the blacks of South-Eastern Africa are found recorded in official documents. One would suppose that the missionaries, at any rate, must have quickly appreciated a change which enabled the remnants of broken tribes to emerge from barren mountains and deserts, and which opened to them vast fields of labour from which they had before been excluded. Yet they were the very last to perceive it. Their documents for many years display an almost incredible want of power to realise the importance of events that had given life itself to the greater number of the tribes now existing. Who, for instance, would imagine that such a sentence as

the following could be penned by a missionary more than five years after the expulsion of Moselekatse from the Betshuana country? "Since the emigrant boers commenced their aggressions upon the unoffending tribes beyond the colonial boundary, they have spilled more than twice as much human blood as was shed in the war which arose out of the Kaffir invasion of the colony in the year 1835." Yet that sentence, just as it stands here, may be seen in a memorial to Lord Stanley from the Wesleyan missionary society, dated 2nd of February 1843, the information in the document having been derived from agents of that society in South Africa. And extravagant as such language appears at the present day, it is mild when compared with expressions used by some of the London society's agents.

Moshesh had observed more than this. When information was carried to Thaba Bosigo that the white men, like the blacks, were divided into parties, and that they were fighting with each other, the chief at once realised that he could turn our quarrels to account; and he formed a decision, from which he never afterwards swerved: to take advantage of the dissensions of the Europeans, and to profess attachment to whichever party was the stronger.

While the events which have been recorded were taking place in Natal, the power of the Basuto chief was constantly increasing. Individuals, families, even small clans belonging to broken tribes, were streaming in and allying themselves with his people. In 1837 the strong Bataung clan under Molitsane, which has already been mentioned on several occasions, and which has ever since taken a prominent part in the affairs of the country, placed itself in vassalage to Moshesh, and was located at Mekuatling. Its chief had been for years a noted warrior, and had taken a large share in the plunder of several of the Barolong clans. By the missionaries he was known as a man capable of assuming the most varied characters, and of being equally insincere in all. He was then already in middle age, though he lived until October 1885. With this clan the reverend Mr.

Daumas, of the Paris evangelical society, took up his residence.

In the opposite direction from Thaba Bosigo, along the Orange, Morosi, Moshesh's vassal, was becoming formidable. To the original clan of the Baphuti were now added refugees of various tribes, among them being a strong body of Tembus and even a number of Bushmen. During the war with the Xosas in 1835 these people committed depredations far in the colony, though the chief was shrewd enough to make it appear that he was neutral. On one occasion the resident magistrate of Somerset East with a commando followed the spoor of stolen cattle to his residence, Klein Tafelberg. Morosi was at the time absent on a foray in another direction. The magistrate seized all the cattle at the kraal, and retired with them. On Morosi's return home he was advised to appeal to the governor, as among the cattle seized only a few could be proved to have been stolen from the colony. The chief acted upon this advice, and soon afterwards proceeded to Grahamstown, where he had an interview with Sir Benjamin D'Urban, by whom his cattle were restored to him, 21st of October 1835. This was the first direct intercourse between the Baphuti chief and the colonial government.

For many years the Basuto were subject to destructive raids from a band of Korana marauders whose fastness was on the Riet river, but in 1836 Moshesh and Moroko joined their forces, attacked the Koranas, and succeeded in destroying some and dispersing the others.

And now for several years there was comparative tranquillity in the land. Petty disputes between the different branches of the community were indeed frequent, and occasionally a few lives were lost in an obscure brawl, but there was no invasion from outside, no devastation on a large scale. The gardens were tilled again and cattle increased, so that food became plentiful, and wherever this is the case African tribes speedily recover the numbers wasted by famine and war.

Some time in 1841 the Barolong captains Gontse, Tawane, and Matlabe moved from Thaba Ntshu northward over the Vaal, and never again returned. It is no easy matter to follow the movements of people so insignificant as these chiefs, who are not mentioned in official documents of the time, of whom no newspaper editor ever heard, and who are only casually referred to in missionary reports. The exact date of their removal therefore cannot be given. Commandant Hendrik Potgieter was then at the Mooi river, and to him they applied for ground on which to live. To the end of his life the commandant never forgot the services which Matlabe and Moroko had rendered, and many years after this, when he was far away in the north, he continued to send frequent complimentary messages and presents to these men who had helped him in his time of need. To be Barolong was to have a claim which he never failed to recognise. Accordingly, with the utmost cordiality he acceded to their request, and ground was given to them in the district of Potchefstroom, close to the farms occupied by the emigrants.

According to the universal practice of the Dutch in South Africa, these chiefs were permitted to govern those who submitted to their rule, as long as white people were not affected, though they were regarded as subjects by the council at Potchefstroom, and in all matters in which Europeans were concerned were amenable to the laws of the civilised community.

They were more highly favoured, however, than other Bantu, because they had acted a friendly part. The emigrant farmers permitted many refugee clans to settle upon territory under their government, on condition of furnishing a certain number of labourers for a fixed term yearly, and at a fixed rate of payment. The commandant or the landdrost of each district apportioned the labourers among those who needed their services, and was required to see that the conditions were faithfully carried out. The system opened a door to abuses, especially in places where the authority of law was

feeble; but while it has been condemned in the strongest terms by various missionaries as being of the nature of slavery, the farmers have as persistently maintained that in practice it is more humane than the imposition of hut-tax. In the one case, they assert, strong men are taught to work, and are thus gradually civilised; in the other an additional burden is placed upon the females, who have to grow more grain for sale, or in some other way earn money to pay the tax. From the labour impost the Barolong clans were free, and they were often addressed by the farmers as allies.

In 1845 Gontse moved to another part of the district without any notice being taken of his doings, or any importance being attached to his presence in one place or the other. At his new location he lived nearly four years, when the thieving propensities of his followers got him into trouble, and a few exasperated farmers compelled him to leave. He retired to the Setlagoli river, where he died. Masisi, his successor, moved to Taung, on the Hart river, and died there in 1871, when Moshete became chief of this, the elder clan of the Barolong.

Tawane and Matlabe remained near the Mooi river some years longer. Both will be met with again.

The great majority of the emigrant farmers moved either to Natal or to the country drained by the various tributaries of the upper Vaal, but a few hundred families remained along the lower Caledon. These did not acknowledge the authority of either of the governments established at Maritzburg and Potchefstroom, and were in point of fact free of all control whatever. They had neither a police nor a tribunal of justice. A few individuals of lawless habits, taking advantage of these circumstances, removed from the colony and fixed their abode in a territory where they could do as they pleased. In June 1837 two of these individuals, who were of notoriously bad character, perpetrated an outrage at the mission station Beersheba, by forcibly carrying off some Bushman children with a view of making servants of them. This matter was promptly

brought to the notice of the colonial and imperial governments, but nothing effectual was done to punish the criminals. Two years later other acts of violence were reported to Colonel Hare, who replied that the criminals were in a place where the colonial laws could not reach them, but that being in the country of Moshesh they were subject to his jurisdiction.

Moshesh in all probability thought very little of the matter. The crimes committed, outrageous as they appear to civilised Europeans, could not have been regarded as very serious by a chief whose favourite vassals almost weekly committed more heinous offences without a word of reproof from him. The victims of the outrages happened not to be his subjects either, and judging from the whole tenor of his after-life he could not have been much interested in their fate. He affixed his mark to the letters written by the missionaries on the subject, and affected an air of indignation in their presence, but in reality was almost indifferent.

A matter, however, that really must have caused him much anxiety was the rapid occupation by white men of the vacant land beyond his outposts. How was the tribe of which he was the head to grow and expand as he wished it to, if hemmed in by farmers? In 1842 the French missionaries computed that his people already numbered from thirty to forty thousand souls, and that estimate was certainly not too high. Accessions were constantly being made by the influx of refugees from broken tribes, so that Moshesh could not view with composure the increase of Europeans on his borders.

At this time the reverend Dr. Philip practically exercised the same power in the Cape Colony that the secretary for native affairs did at a later period under responsible government. He had the whole of the great philanthropic and missionary societies in England to support him. With these in opposition no ministry could retain office long, and therefore the governor was obliged not only to consult him

on all questions affecting coloured people, but to act upon his advice.

Dr. Philip's project of the creation of a belt of native states under British protection along the border of the Cape Colony had been under discussion ever since 1834, and had been generally approved of by the French missionaries as well as by the members of his own society. The project was that the chiefs who were apparently the most powerful within certain areas were to be recognised as the paramount rulers of these territories, all other chiefs within the areas were to be regarded as subordinate to them, and they were to be aided in repelling white people except missionaries and those whom the missionaries favoured.

When this scheme was laid by Dr. Philip before Moshesh, that astute chief at once comprehended its importance and gave his assent to it. Messengers had just conveyed to Thaba Bosigo the intelligence that British troops were marching from the Umgazi to Natal. His missionaries had told him of the enormous strength and vast resources of the British nation. He had determined to be on the side that was safest. And so on the 30th of May 1842 he approved of a letter written by the reverend Mr. Casalis to Lieutenant-Governor Hare, asking that he might be taken into treaty relationship with the colonial government, as he was convinced that the existence and independence of his tribe could only be preserved by the protection of the sovereign of England.

Compliance with this request was urged upon the governor by Dr. Philip. On the 7th of September 1842 Sir George Napier issued a proclamation announcing that the queen would regard with the liveliest indignation the attempt by any of her subjects to molest or injure the native tribes, or to take unlawful possession of land belonging to them. By any such attempt, he added, the offending parties would forfeit all claim to the queen's protection and regard, and be held by her to have placed themselves in an attitude of resistance to her will and authority. The tribes

upon whose territories the emigrants were represented as having evinced a disposition to encroach were stated in the proclamation to be the Basuto of Moshesh, the Barolong of Moroko, the Batlapin of Lepui, the half-breeds of Carolus Baatje, and the Griquas of Barend Barends and Adam Kok.

With the next mail that left for England the governor made the secretary of state acquainted with the matter as it had been represented to him, and stated that there were two modes of overcoming the difficulties of the case: one being protection of the tribes by means of treaties and the promise of armed support, the other the subjection of both the blacks and the whites to British authority. The last course was rejected by the imperial government, who feared additional responsibility, but the first was approved of.

Attention must now be directed to the Griquas, and their history must be more fully traced than it has been in preceding chapters. It has already been related that shortly after the arrival of agents of the London missionary society in South Africa, their attention was drawn towards a little horde of hunters leading a nomadic life on the great plain south of the Orange river. These people were chiefly Hottentots, or of mixed Hottentot and slave descent, but some of them had European blood in their veins, as they were the remote offspring of degraded colonists and Hottentot women. Their language was the Dutch of the colony, though their habits and dispositions were those of Hottentots. They acknowledged a man named Barend Barends as their captain, but their subjection to his authority was only nominal. For nearly four years the missionaries accompanied them in their wanderings, but in 1803 the horde was induced to settle in a well-watered valley, a short distance north of the Orange river. There a mission station was formed, which received the name Klaarwater. The reverend Messrs. Anderson and Kramer instructed the people in the principles of the Christian religion, and induced a few of them to cultivate the ground and to erect better dwellings than mat huts.

The nucleus of a settlement being thus formed, some of the surrounding savages were drawn towards it. It became also a place of attraction for free blacks and Hottentot refugees from the colony. Among others a party of mixed breeds moved up from Little Namaqualand under two brothers named Adam and Cornelis Kok, who were the sons of old Cornelis Kok, a noted elephant hunter and a captain of good reputation in that part of the colony. Some years later the old man joined his sons in their new home, and brought with him from the Kamiesberg another band of half-breeds. The clan, if such a word can be used to signify a body of people so loosely joined together, originated with Adam Kok, old Cornelis Kok's father. This man was a half-breed, who, a generation earlier, had been permitted by the Cape government to collect a party of people of his own class about him, and had been commissioned to maintain order among them.

As the population increased, outstations were formed wherever sufficient water could be found. There was a vast extent of arid country on every side, inhabited only by wandering Bushmen, with a few Koranas along the banks of the rivers and a few Batlapin to the north at places where there were fountains.

The settlement was still in its infancy when the colonial government looked upon it with a suspicious eye. It was feared that it might become a refuge for runaway slaves and criminals, and that a hostile community might grow up there. In 1805 a commission, consisting of the landdrost of Tulbagh and Dr. Henry Lichtenstein, was sent to inspect and report upon it. The commissioners found six villages already established, with a population numbering in all nearly a thousand souls. Their report was to the effect that no danger was to be apprehended, and the government, acting upon this opinion, permitted matters to take their course.

The community now enjoyed several years of prosperity. The people profited by the labour of the missionaries, and

adopted some of the customs of civilised life. They did not acquire habits of industry, as neither precept nor example could rouse them from indolence; but the chase, of which they were excessively fond, was a mine of wealth. They became mighty hunters, and with the ivory, ostrich feathers, and peltries which they procured, they carried on trade with the colonists. They found means to purchase waggons, ammunition, guns, English clothing, coffee, sugar, and many other articles, the value of which they were capable of appreciating. Their flocks and herds increased rapidly, as they obtained from the chase nearly all the animal food they needed.

The missionaries led out water, and irrigated several acres of land, which they placed under cultivation. They also planted willows along the watercourse and fruit trees in their garden, and when these grew up the village of Klaarwater was considered the most attractive in appearance of the London society's stations in the interior of South Africa.

The reverend John Campbell, who was sent out by the directors to make a tour of inspection, in 1813 proceeded as far as Lithako, and passed through Klaarwater both in going and returning. He drew up a constitution and a code of laws for the settlement, and directed the appointment of numerous officials. Two of the leading men, Adam Kok and Barend Barends, were to be military commanders with the title of captain, and were also with the two missionaries to form a supreme court of justice. Mr. Campbell even proposed to have money specially coined by the society for the state which it had created.

Upon his return to England he published a volume which gave its readers the impression that he had left a missionary settlement with a highly organised government at the junction of the Vaal and the Orange. A simple, honest, credulous man, he was himself deceived. Not one of his regulations was ever enforced, nor did his courts exist except in his book. It was he that gave the name

Griquas to the people, and Griquatown to the station at Klaarwater, names which were readily adopted, and which were the only permanent memorials of his visit to the country. He states the inhabitants to have been one thousand two hundred and sixty-six Griquas and one thousand three hundred and forty-one Koranas. There were also a few Bushmen and Batlapin in the country, but no estimate of their number is given.

In 1820 dissensions broke out. The reverend William Anderson, who had done so much for the welfare of these people, was obliged to retire, as his life was in danger,* and the captains Kok and Barends also removed from Griquatown. Under the guidance of some missionaries the people who remained at that place then elected Andries Waterboer, a coloured schoolmaster, to be their captain. On the 22nd of March 1822 a gentleman named Melvill — who subsequently became a missionary of the London society—was appointed by the colonial government resident agent in the Griqua territory. Acting according to the agent's advice, Waterboer ruled his people discreetly, and became fixed in his position. An account of the treaty which Sir Benjamin D'Urban entered into with him in 1834 has already been given. It is not necessary now to continue the history of this branch of the Griquas, but it will frequently be met with in after years.

Barend Barends went to a place called Daniel's Kuil, where he set up an independent government, and declined in any way to be guided by Mr. Melvill. From Daniel's Kuil this horde afterwards moved to Boetsap. Its subsequent history to December 1833, when it was settled by Wesleyan missionaries at Lishuane near the Caledon, has been given in a preceding chapter.

* This amiable and devoted missionary, who had gone through more hardships and difficulties than any of his contemporaries during his residence of twenty years with the Griquas, retired to Pacaltsdorp, where he continued to perform excellent work with the Hottentots at that station. He died on the 24th of September 1852, leaving a name highly honoured by all classes of the community in that part of the colony.

The adherents of the Koks moved to Campbell, where Adam, the elder brother, was acknowledged as their sole captain, independent of all other authority.

Sir Rufane Donkin was at this time acting governor, and as he feared that the dissensions among the Griquas would end in their becoming bands of marauders, he at first contemplated an attempt to seize them all and bring them into the colony. From this he was dissuaded by Captain Stockenstrom, then landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, by whose advice the plan of stationing a resident agent in the country was adopted instead. On the 4th of October 1821 a letter was sent from the colonial secretary's office, acknowledging Adam Kok as captain of Campbell, Barend Barends as captain of Daniel's Kuil, and Andries Waterboer as captain of Griquatown.

In May 1824 Adam Kok resigned, and his brother Cornelis was chosen to succeed him as captain of Campbell. Adam then wandered about the country between the Vaal and Modder rivers, where in December 1825 he was joined by a number of marauding half-breeds and Hottentots, who were usually termed bergenaars, on account of their stronghold being in the Long mountains. These people chose him to be their captain, but after a few weeks the worst characters among them, who had the reputation of being the most ruthless ruffians in South Africa, returned to their old haunts, where in course of time nearly all of them met with violent deaths.

In 1823 Landdrost Stockenstrom and the reverend Abraham Faure, clergyman of the Dutch reformed church at Graaff-Reinet, caused a school to be established a couple of hours' ride north of the Orange river, at a place which Mr. Faure named Philippolis, in honour of Dr. Philip. They were in hopes of collecting together there a number of Koranas and Bushmen who were wandering about on both sides of the river, but they were disappointed, for these people could not be induced to settle anywhere permanently. In 1826, on the invitation of the head of the London

missionary society, Adam Kok and the Griquas who were with him moved to the district between the Riet and Orange rivers, and made Philippolis their head-quarters.

At this time there were no other people than Bushmen and Koranas in those parts, except when a few farmers from the colony went over the Great river with their herds, and remained while the grass was good. Dr. Philip's benevolence towards the coloured races was unbounded, and the Bushmen especially occupied a high position in his affections. He held a theory regarding them that they were descendants of Hottentots who had been despoiled of their possessions by rapacious Europeans, and that they were compelled by sheer want to lead the life of robbers. In giving the district of Philippolis to Adam Kok he stipulated that the Griquas should protect them against the farmers.

As well might a hyena be put into a fold to protect the sheep. The records of the first European settlers in South Africa prove the enmity between the Hottentots and Bushmen to have been as deep-seated in the middle of the seventeenth century as it has been ever since. But this was unknown to Dr. Philip. He had formed a theory, and he acted upon it. The result was the disappearance of Bushmen, not only from the district of Philippolis, but from the territory far beyond. Whether the sickening tales that are found scattered about in South African literature, of the throats of some being cut after they were hunted down by the Griquas, of others being roasted alive, and so forth, are wholly or only partially true, can never be positively known. That the Bushmen were exterminated remains in any case, and the process is of secondary importance.

Cornelis Kok, the captain of Campbell, meantime repudiated the authority of the missionary society in secular matters, and consequently lost favour with that body. In July 1834 Dr. Philip applied to Sir Benjamin D'Urban to pronounce him deposed, and officially to acknowledge Andries Waterboer as his successor; but the governor declined to interfere in the matter.

In the following year Adam Kok, captain of Philippolis, by advice of his missionary visited Capetown in order to enter into a treaty with the colonial government, as Waterboer had done. But he was disappointed. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who was then on the eastern frontier engaged in the Kaffir war, was either too much occupied to issue the necessary instructions, or did not think it prudent to do so. On his way home in September 1835 Adam Kok died at the Berg river, and when this intelligence reached Philippolis, his eldest son, Abraham Kok, was chosen to succeed him.

On the 7th of January 1837 Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, who was on a tour along the northern border, had an interview with Abraham Kok at Philippolis, at which the reverend Messrs. Wright and Atkinson were also present. Kok's Griquas were then at variance with those under Waterboer, so that he could not enter into a treaty with the captain; but it was arranged that as soon as peace was made he would do so.

Accordingly the missionaries exerted themselves to bring about an accommodation, with the result that on the 25th of February a treaty of close alliance was entered into by Abraham Kok and Andries Waterboer. The utter absurdity of the proceeding is shown by the fact that these petty captains divided between them on paper the whole territory from Kheis, on the Orange, to Kornet Spruit, ignoring not only Cornelis Kok and Lepui, but the Basuto chief Moshesh. Yet documents such as this were regarded by the imperial authorities of the day as important state papers.

Before Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom had time to conclude the proposed treaty, Abraham Kok's younger brother, Adam by name, attempted to seize the captaincy. Abraham's moral character was decidedly bad. He got out of favour with the missionaries, who termed him a renegade savage, and henceforth all their influence was on the side of Adam. This turned the scale, and in September 1837 a majority of the people of Philippolis elected Adam Kok as their captain.

Abraham was obliged to retire to Campbell, where he took refuge with his uncle Cornelis, the captain of that place. A considerable party, however, still adhered to him, and a kind of petty civil war followed.

Cornelis and Abraham Kok were on one side, Andries Waterboer and Adam Kok on the other. The question at issue really was whether the missionaries or the captains were to be paramount. The armies, as the little troops of ragamuffins under the different leaders were termed, fired at each other on several occasions, but at such distances that the balls fell midway between them. The only real fighting was when Abraham and Cornelis made a sudden attack upon Philippolis in the winter of 1838, and were beaten back by Adam and Waterboer. After a time, however, Abraham gained the ascendency, recovered Philippolis, and in January 1840 thought he had quite vanquished his rival. But a few months later Waterboer and Adam succeeded in driving him away, and about the commencement of 1841 the strife ceased by a general consent that Andries Waterboer should be captain of Griquatown, Cornelis Kok captain of Campbell, and Adam Kok captain of Philippolis. Thereafter Abraham Kok sank into utter insignificance, and the missionary influence was everywhere predominant except at Campbell, which was on that account left with only a catechist.

On the 9th of November 1838, while this petty strife was being carried on, Adam Kok and Andries Waterboer entered into a treaty, in which they divided between them the country as far north as Platberg on the Vaal, and ignored all other claimants. This document was forgotten by every one during a period of thirty-two years, but in 1870 Waterboer's copy was found, and was brought before a court of arbitration as good evidence of his son's right to an immense extent of land.

The farmers who have been mentioned as occasional residents in the territory around Philippolis were owners of ground in the northern districts of the colony, and only moved across the Orange in seasons of drought or when

the grass was destroyed by locusts. They were less affected than any other class of colonists by the events that led to the great emigration, for they were far from the Kaffir frontier, they were not slaveholders, and they were ignorant of the statements made concerning them in Europe. Their lives were passed in seclusion from the world, and the care of their cattle was almost their only occupation. Periodically they attended religious services at the nearest church, from which many of them were hundreds of miles distant, and once a year they presented themselves at the court-house of the civil commissioner in whose district their lands were situated, and paid their taxes. Government was to them only a shadow. There was nothing to make them disloyal, and they had no ideal grievances. For nearly a century their ancestors had been living in exactly the same manner: paying rent for farms within the colonial border, but moving beyond it at will. Then the government would annex the ground so occupied, and thus the process of enlarging the settlement was continually going on.

These farmers believed they had a right to graze their cattle in the country along the Riet and Modder rivers by virtue of agreements with certain individuals who claimed to be chiefs of the wandering savages there. To these chiefs they had paid a few cattle as a matter of form, but it is open to question whether that gave them any rights in the country which their beneficial occupation of it would not equally have conferred.

After the elder Adam Kok took possession of the territory, the farmers on crossing the Great river found the choicest pasturage in possession of Griquas, each of whom claimed a tract of land of enormous extent. But the presence of these people was regarded at first as advantageous, for in their neighbourhood there were no Bushmen cattle-lifters. The Griquas were quite ready to turn their claims to account by selling or leasing the ground at a very low rate and moving to other places themselves, and so all parties were satisfied. After a while, one farmer after another settled

permanently in the territory, and from about 1839 onward they formed a tolerably strong community. At this time they had as their head a sensible, well-disposed man, named Michiel Oberholster.

After Natal was taken by the British forces under Colonel Cloete in June 1842, a great number of the emigrant farmers recrossed the Drakensberg. Some moved over the Vaal others joined their friends along the Riet, Modder, and Caledon rivers. In the neighbourhood of Philippolis there were henceforth two strong parties: one under Michiel Oberholster, well disposed towards the British government, the other under Jan Mocke, bitterly opposed to it. On the 3rd of October 1842 Mr. Oberholster wrote to the civil commissioner of Colesberg that Mocke's party intended to hold a meeting on the 24th of the month at Alleman's drift, the ford of the Orange nearest to that village, to erect a beacon and to proclaim the whole country north of the river a republic. The emigrants were in a state of excitement, owing partly to the occurrences in Natal and partly to the arrest of two of their number, named Hugo and Pretorius, and their committal to prison at Colesberg on a charge of murder.

Some days later Mr. Justice Menzies arrived at Colesberg on circuit for the purpose of holding a court. Hugo and Pretorius were brought before him for trial, but the evidence for the prosecution showed their act to have been justifiable homicide, and without hearing the defence the judge directed their discharge. Adam Kok was then at Colesberg. He had gone there to complain that the emigrant farmers were acting independently in the district of Philippolis, and to ask for protection according to the tenor of Sir George Napier's recent proclamation, which had just reached him. The evidence given before his court, Adam Kok's statement, and the rumours which he heard convinced the judge that many of the people were disposed to submit to the queen's authority, and that it was his duty to forestall Mocke.

On the 22nd of October he proceeded to Alleman's drift, crossed the river, and on its northern bank, in presence of Mr. Rawstorne, civil commissioner of Colesberg, Captain Eardley Wilmot, of the royal artillery, Advocate William Hiddingh, Mr. Cock, justice of the peace, Commandant Van der Walt, Fieldcornets Joubert, Visser, and Du Plessis, a number of farmers from both sides of the river, Adam Kok, and about twenty Griquas, he hoisted the union jack and proclaimed the whole country British territory from the twenty-second degree of longitude eastward to the sea, and from the Orange northward to the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude, excepting only such portions as were in possession of the Portuguese or of native tribes. A willow tree was cut down, and to its trunk, which was placed in a cairn of stones, was nailed a board with the inscription: "Baken van Koningin van England."

On the 24th Mocke with three hundred armed followers arrived at Alleman's drift, and found Judge Menzies with about a hundred supporters there. An interview took place, at which one Diederikse was the chief speaker on Mocke's side. He disputed the legality of the judge's proclamation, stated that the emigrants would not respect it, and claimed the whole country north of the Orange down to the military lines around Durban as a republic. Mocke's adherents, however, did not disturb the beacon or the flag as long as the judge was there, though it was evident that any interference with their movements would have been resisted.

Sir George Napier disapproved of Judge Menzies' proclamation, on the ground that sovereignty carried with it responsibility for the maintenance of order, and without more troops he had no means either of protecting the well-disposed or of punishing criminals. He therefore issued a notice repudiating the whole proceeding as having been unauthorised, but he still claimed the emigrants as British subjects, that the imperial government might decide on what should be done.

He considered it advisable, however, to make a display of force, and in December of this year two columns of troops under command of Lieutenant-Governor Hare marched from the Kaffir frontier to Colesberg. Together they comprised three hundred and sixty-one men of the 91st regiment, one hundred and ninety-eight of the 27th, two hundred and sixty-two Cape mounted riflemen, twenty-two of the royal artillery with two six-pounders, and five staff officers. Upon their arrival the excitement beyond the river was found to have subsided, and after a short stay the main body of the troops returned to the eastern outposts, leaving two companies of infantry under Major Campbell and a company of the Cape mounted riflemen under Captain Donovan in camp at Colesberg.

On the 26th of August 1843 Adam Kok signed a letter written by his missionary to the governor, asking that a treaty of alliance might be entered into between them. Sir George Napier replied on the 6th of October, that prior to its receipt he had been in communication with the lieutenant-governor and the reverend Dr. Philip in regard to the state of the country north of the Orange, and was happy to be able to transmit for signature a treaty which appeared to him to embrace all the provisions suited to the wants of Kok and his people, and calculated to ensure their prosperity.

At this time Adam Kok's clan consisted of from fifteen hundred to two thousand souls, all told. The land which he claimed was bounded on the north by the Modder river, on the south by the Orange, on the east by the districts occupied by the people of Moroko and Lepui, and on the west by a line upwards from Ramah, that is territory fully eleven or twelve thousand square miles in extent. Within the borders as described by him to the governor there were then more white people than Griquas.

On the 5th of October 1843 two treaties, one with Moshesh, the other with Adam Kok, were signed by Sir George Napier in Capetown, and were witnessed by Mr. John Montagu, secretary to government, and the reverend Dr.

Philip. They were both drawn up on the model of the one entered into by Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Andries Waterboer in 1834, most of the clauses being identical in them all. There were, however, one or two important differences. In Moshesh's treaty the limits on all sides of the country acknowledged to be his were defined, while in Adam Kok's only the southern boundary, from the neighbourhood of Ramah to that of Bethulie, was mentioned. Adam Kok was promised a yearly subsidy of £100 in money, the use of one hundred stand of arms with a reasonable quantity of ammunition, and a grant of £50 a year to the London society for the maintenance of a school. Moshesh was promised £75 yearly, either in money or in arms and ammunition, as he might choose.

Mr. Rawstorne, civil commissioner of Colesberg, proceeded to Philippolis with one treaty, and his clerk, Mr. James Walker, was sent to Thaba Bosigo with the other. Adam Kok signed his on the 29th of November, with his secretary and his missionary as witnesses, and Moshesh affixed his mark to his on the 13th of December, in presence of his brother Moperi, his chief warrior Makoniane, and the reverend Messrs. Casalis, Arbousset, and Dyke.

In the treaty with Moshesh the territory acknowledged to be his was bounded by the Orange river from its source to its junction with the Caledon, and by a line about twenty-five to thirty miles north-west of the Caledon from the district of Bethulie to the country occupied by Sikonyela's Batlokua.

A glance at a map of South Africa will show how completely the Cape Colony was enclosed by the states thus created on paper and the one similarly created by the treaty with Faku in the following year. If they could have been maintained, the white man and the civilisation which he carries with him would have been effectually excluded from the regions beyond the Orange. But they satisfied no one except Adam Kok and his Griquas, and they were respected by no one, least of all by the emigrant farmers.

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Moshesh through his missionaries complained that the whole of the territory occupied by the clans of Moroko and Gert Taaibosch was not included in his dominions, and he wanted the treaty amended so that his boundaries should embrace their entire districts. He said not one word about the land between the lower Caledon and the Orange which was given to him, though he had no more right to it than to the Isle of Man.*

Moroko, Peter Davids, Carolus Baatje, and Gert Taaibosch, on the other hand, complained that the treaty gave either the whole or portions of their districts to Moshesh, and "inflicted a far more ruinous stroke of injustice upon them than any they were ever likely to suffer from the emigrant farmers." Through the reverend William Shaw, general superintendent of the Wesleyan missions in South-Eastern Africa, they asked that it should be rectified by excluding their ground from it, and that a similar arrangement should be entered into with them.

The treaties irritated the emigrant farmers more than anything that had occurred since they left the colony. Adam Kok's Griquas were as much British subjects, they said, as themselves, most of them having been born under the British flag; yet the independence of these semi-barbarians was acknowledged, and they were admitted to the position of allies and furnished with arms, while white men with exactly the same claims to freedom were told that go where they would they could not throw off their allegiance, except that while living in the territories of coloured chiefs

* Moshesh's early ideas of government were tribal more than territorial, and he had only of recent years come to comprehend our system. In an interview with Major Warden at Bloemfontein on the 30th of April 1847 he claimed all the land up to the junction of Kaal Spruit with the Modder river, on account of some Basuto having once resided there. On another occasion when asked to define his territory, he replied that it was wherever his foot had pressed the ground or one of his people had ever lived. His son Letsie still held the same views. Several years later he described the Bushmen in the Lesuto as being Moshesh's subjects in the same way that the jackals were, that is they lived in the country, but were not under its laws.

they were under the jurisdiction of such chiefs. One and all they refused to subject themselves to the puppet sovereigns set up by the treaties.

There were at the time more than a thousand emigrants along the Riet river, in the very heart of the territory claimed by Adam Kok, who would gladly have seen a government established there under the British flag, if they could be allowed equal rights with the blacks. Two hundred and fifty-eight heads of families among them signed a document in duplicate, and deputed two of their number—Willem Jan Oberholster and Lukas van den Heever—to convey it to Maritzburg and deliver it to Advocate Cloete, then commissioner in Natal. In this memorial they stated their willingness to submit to the queen's authority on the same terms as those offered to the emigrants there. After recounting the history of their settlement north of the Orange, they stated that it was not their intention to deprive the coloured people of anything, but it was their wish that measures should be adopted to give rights to white people also. When passing through Winburg the deputation was stopped by some of Mocke's party, and one copy of the memorial was seized, but as it was not suspected that it was in duplicate, Messrs. Oberholster and Van den Heever were able to carry out their mission. No action, however, was taken upon it by the British authorities.

With everything in turmoil beyond the Orange, with passion running higher there than ever it had run before, with the French and Wesleyan missionaries contending on opposite sides, with jealousies raised among the chiefs and an opportunity given to Moshesh to increase his power—the immediate effects of treaties which Englishmen at home, so sadly misinformed, were led to believe had been entered into to prevent the aborigines from being despoiled of their possessions by slave-holding colonists,—Sir George Napier left South Africa and Sir Peregrine Maitland became governor of the Cape Colony.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

EVENTS NORTH OF THE ORANGE FROM 1843 TO 1847.

THE new governor found awaiting his consideration a letter from Adam Kok soliciting military aid. His first act of interference with the emigrant farmers had got him into trouble, and he believed they were about to attack him. In January 1844 there was a quarrel between two white men named George Mills and Hermanus van Staden, not far from Philippolis, and shortly afterwards Mills died, as was reported from injuries received from Van Staden. Thereupon Adam Kok caused Van Staden to be arrested and sent to Colesberg for trial, and he took possession of the property of Mills, ostensibly to secure it for the heirs.

As soon as Van Staden's arrest became known, Diederikse, who was Mocke's secretary, wrote from Modder River to Adam Kok, demanding that he should be given up to the emigrant farmers to be tried by their courts. Kok's reply was a stinging taunt. He—that is the missionary in his name—wrote to Diederikse that "his request had been complied with in one sense, for as all emigrants from the colony were looked upon as British subjects, they were amenable to the laws administered in the colony." Mocke's party then threatened war, upon which Kok sent to Colesberg and obtained from the military store two hundred pounds of powder and four hundred pounds of lead. For a week or two there was considerable excitement on both sides, but at length, on Van Staden's release, the affair was allowed to sink into oblivion, with a warning, however, to Adam Kok not to repeat the provocation.

In the first week of June there was a large meeting of farmers and Griquas at Philippolis, convened by Michiel Oberholster with the object of discussing matters affecting them all, and trying to come to a common understanding. Mr. Gideon Joubert, who was present during the discussions, reported to the civil commissioner of Colesberg that the dissensions among the emigrants prevented anything like joint action. Oberholster's party repudiated their subjection to Adam Kok by the treaty, but they and the Griquas resolved that no one who disavowed allegiance to the British government should be permitted to reside in the territory. Upon this a commandant named Jan Kock declared that he would resist any such resolution being put in force, and he had a strong body of adherents. The meeting was therefore dissolved.

Commandant Jan Kock, here mentioned, had shortly before this moved from the present colonial division of Hanover to the bank of the Modder river. He had received rather more education from books than the generality of the emigrants, and was as genial and hospitable a man as could be found anywhere in South Africa. His chief failing was, perhaps, too much confidence in his own ability to do anything and everything. A great many of the emigrants, however, thought as much of him as he thought of himself, and so he soon became a leader among them. His aim at this time was to bring all the Europeans north of the Orange under the government established at Potchefstroom, of which Mr. Hendrik Potgieter was chief commandant.

The position taken up by the party of which he was a leading member was defined in a resolution unanimously adopted by the council of Potchefstroom and Winburg on the 10th of April 1844, and was that the emigrants were free and independent, that they were unwilling to enter into any negotiations whatever with the English government, and that their territory extended southward to the Orange river.

During the year 1844 many efforts were made by this party to compel those who disagreed with them either to

return to the Cape Colony or to fall in with their views. Oberholster's adherents in particular complained that they were subject to incessant persecution. Sir Peregrine Maitland was wearied with communications, all of the same nature, showing that without a strong force north of the Orange the treaties could not be maintained. Adam Kok wrote asking for soldiers to expel the emigrants from his territory. Lukas van den Heever wrote on the 24th of October, on behalf of the parties under himself, Michiel Oberholster, and Jacobus Snyman—the last named being head of a body of farmers in the valley of the lower Caledon — asking whether they could rely on obtaining protection. He added that if the government did not assist them they would in the end be obliged against their will to submit to the council at Potchefstroom.

On the 13th of December of this year Commandant Jan Kock, in the name of Chief-Commandant Potgieter, wrote to Adam Kok inviting him to a conference with a view of establishing peace and friendship between them. The Griqua captain replied through his missionary, the reverend W. Y. Thompson, that he did not feel himself at liberty to meet any one officially who assumed authority over the subjects of the queen. A few days later Mr. Potgieter arrived at Philippolis, and met Adam Kok. He proposed that as the farmers and the Griquas were alike emigrants from the Cape Colony, they should not interfere with each other in any way, but should live in peace, each party under its own government. Adam Kok answered that he would abide by the terms of the Napier treaty, and could only regard the white emigrants as British subjects. They came therefore to no terms.

It was almost impossible under the circumstances that they should long continue at peace. The civil commissioner of Colesberg reported that Jan Kock's adherents constantly went about armed. On the 13th of January 1845 Adam Kok wrote asking that a military post might be established in his country. The secretary to government replied on the

19th of February that "if any general movement of the emigrants should take place for the purpose of attacking him, there would be marched from the colony with all possible despatch such a force as should seem calculated to ensure his protection against an unprovoked aggression." After a promise like this it might be certain that the Griqua captain would abate none of his pretensions, and that in the state of irritation in which both parties were, a pretext for a quarrel would not long be wanting.

The following event brought matters to a climax:—

Two blacks from beyond the Vaal, who were in the service of an emigrant named Jan Krynauw, quarrelled with a European residing on the same farm, and menaced him with their assagais, but did not go so far as to wound him. Krynauw secured the offenders and took them to Commandant Jan Kock, who sentenced them to a sound flogging. Adam Kok thereupon inquired of Mr. Rawstorne whether he would receive Krynauw if delivered at Colesberg for trial. Mr. Rawstorne advised him to be cautious, but neglecting counsel that did not coincide with his own views, the Griqua captain sent a band of a hundred armed men to arrest Krynauw. When the Griquas reached the farm Krynauw was not at home, so they poured a storm of abuse upon his wife, broke into his house, and carried away with them three guns and a quantity of ammunition.

Thereupon the burghers, fearing a general attack, assembled under arms, and the Griquas did the same. A party of farmers from the district between the Orange and the lower Caledon, under Commandant Jacobus Duplooy, came to the aid of their countrymen. The burghers then formed a lager or camp at Touwfontein, a farm occupied by one Adriaan van Wyk, about thirty miles from Philippolis. There they left their families under protection of a guard, and the two parties then commenced seizing each other's cattle. Whenever they met shots were exchanged, each invariably accusing the other of being the first to fire. Mr. Rawstorne, as a special magistrate under the Cape of Good

Hope punishment bill, issued a circular calling upon the farmers to keep the peace; but it had no effect. He then supplied Adam Kok with a hundred muskets and a quantity of ammunition for the use of his followers, and desired Major Campbell to move the military force under his command from Colesberg to Alleman's drift to protect fugitives and prevent any one from crossing the river to the assistance of the farmers.

As the seizure of cattle and skirmishing continued, on the 22nd of April 1845 Major Campbell with two hundred men crossed the Orange, and, marching at night, reached Philippolis next morning without molestation. Mr. Rawstorne accompanied the troops. A conference with the emigrant leaders was then arranged, which took place at Alwyn's Kop on the 25th of April. Among the deputies from the emigrant camp were Jan Mocke, Jan Kock, Hermanus Steyn, and Michiel Oberholster.

Mr. Rawstorne informed them that as British subjects they could not be permitted to make war on Adam Kok, who was an ally of the government. Messrs. Mocke and Kock replied that they were independent of Great Britain, and subject only to the council of Potchefstroom and Winburg. They affirmed that the Griquas began the war, but they stated their willingness to restore the cattle they had captured if the Griquas would do the same. They were also willing to engage not to renew hostilities, if the Griquas would refrain from doing so. They desired, however, as indispensable to any agreement that a line of demarcation should be drawn between the Griquas and themselves, and that they should be placed upon an equality with the Griquas, that is, that they should be recognised as a free people. Mr. Rawstorne could not concede this, so the meeting was unsuccessful in bringing about peace. To this date four or five farmers had been wounded, but they had killed one Griqua, made six prisoners, and captured two hundred and eighty horses and three thousand six hundred head of horned cattle.

The 7th dragoon guards, under Lieutenant-Colonel Richardson, with some artillery under Captain Shepherd, and a troop of Cape mounted riflemen under Captain H. D. Warden, had meantime been ordered to proceed as rapidly as possible from the eastern colonial frontier to the assistance of the Griquas. On the morning of the 26th of April this force crossed the Orange, and on the same day reached Philippolis. There Colonel Richardson issued a proclamation calling upon the "emigrant British subjects unlawfully assembled in arms to surrender themselves unconditionally to her Majesty's troops." The proclamation had no effect.

On the night of the 1st of May 1845 Colonel Richardson left Philippolis with one hundred and eighteen cavalry, one hundred and sixty infantry, and most of Adam Kok's Griquas, and made a forced march towards Touwfontein, with a view of surprising the emigrant camp. A body of Griquas was sent in advance to draw out the farmers. They succeeded in doing this, and then pretended to run away. Some two hundred and fifty farmers under the commandants Jan Mocke, J. Kock, H. Steyn, and J. Duplooy, pursued them to a plot of broken ground called the Zwartkopjes, about five miles from Touwfontein. Under cover of some hills the cavalry then got unobserved in the rear of the farmers, who suddenly and unexpectedly found themselves in front of British troops.

The action that followed is not deserving of the name of a battle, for the farmers did not even attempt to make a stand. On the English side one Griqua was killed. On the side of the emigrants one farmer and a French adventurer were killed, and another farmer was mortally wounded. Fifteen prisoners were taken, among whom were two deserters from the British army. These men were subsequently brought to trial before a court martial, when one was sentenced to death and the other to fourteen years' imprisonment with hard labour.

After the skirmish at Zwartkopjes, Colonel Richardson sent the infantry to Touwfontein to take possession of the

emigrants' camp. The great majority of the occupants of the lager were women and children. Only about one hundred men were there, who surrendered without resistance. All the arms and ammunition were seized, but other property was left undisturbed.

Commandants Mocke, Kock, and Duplooy, with their adherents, retired hastily to Winburg. Oberholster's party had tried from the first to keep as much as possible out of the strife, and they now came in to Colonel Richardson's camp at Zwartkopjes and took the oath of allegiance to the queen. Hermanus Steyn's adherents did the same, and by the 17th of May three hundred and sixteen emigrants had taken the oath. About two thousand of the cattle taken from the Griquas were restored through the exertions of Mr. Steyn.

There was another large party of farmers at no great distance, who acknowledged as their head Mr. Jacobus Theodorus Snyman, but they took no part in these disturbances. They were mostly living along the lower Caledon, and professed to hold their lands from Moshesh. The great chief therefore favoured them greatly, and was always pleased to allot a farm to any of their friends, as by so doing he established his title to the district in which they were living. He appointed agents to give out land in his name, and in after years constantly brought this forward as an admission by the emigrants of his right to that part of the country. The adherents of Snyman were for this reason regarded with little affection by the remainder of their countrymen.

On the 22nd of May Colonel Richardson broke up his camp at Zwartkopjes, and moved on to Touwfontein, where Sir Peregrine Maitland had convened a meeting of all the chiefs between the Orange and the Vaal. The governor was trying to devise a plan by which matters could be settled and the future peace of the country be assured, and he was on his way to Touwfontein to introduce a new order of affairs.

Before his arrival Commandants Mocke, Kock, and Duplooy sent a letter to Mr. Rawstorne, offering to restore everything they had taken from the Griquas on condition that everything taken from them by the Griquas and the British troops should likewise be returned. In reply, Mr. Rawstorne was directed to write that "his Excellency could not entertain any proposals or terms whatever on the part of her Majesty's subjects who had been in arms against the government, and would accept only of an unconditional restoration of the cattle in question."

Towards the close of June the governor, attended by Mr. Porter, the attorney-general of the Cape Colony, and several other gentlemen, arrived at Touwfontein. The chiefs Moshesh, Moroko, Molitsane, Lepui, Gert Taaibosch, Carolus Baatje, Peter Davids, Adam Kok, and Andries Waterboer, with a large number of missionaries, were there to meet him. Sikonyela, the head of the Batlokua, was the only chief of any note in the country between the Vaal and the Orange who was absent. With Waterboer there was nothing to settle, for the district that was his under the treaty of 1834 was beyond the disturbed area. Lepui, Carolus Baatje, and Peter Davids had no quarrels on hand and asked for nothing, so there was no need of any special negotiations with them. Molitsane desired that he might be considered a dependent of Moshesh, and therefore included in any arrangement made with his superior. Moroko and Gert Taaibosch would not admit that they were vassals of Moshesh, and Moshesh would not renounce his claim to sovereignty over them, so that only a provisional arrangement could be made with these chiefs.

Adam Kok remained. In the first conference with the governor this petty captain of a rabble horde put forth pretensions which would have been extravagant if made by Peter the great of Russia. He claimed that every one within his territory who did not implicitly obey his orders was a rebel, and forfeited thereby all his property. He declared that all leases of land within his territory which had been

made by any person whatever without his approval were invalid. And he requested that all who had been in arms against him should be driven out by British troops. Subsequently, however, he moderated his tone.

The governor proposed that the territory which Adam Kok claimed should be divided into two districts. In one of these districts no white men except missionaries and traders—and these only with the consent of the colonial government—should thereafter be permitted to purchase or lease ground, and those who were then resident within it should be compelled to leave upon the expiration of their leases. In the other district land could be freely leased to white men either by the Griqua government or individual Griqua claimants. The dominion of the Griqua government over the whole was to be maintained, but practically the administration of the European district was to be entrusted to an English officer with the title of British resident. This officer was to hold a commission under the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill, and Kok was to confer upon him the same power as exercised by magistrates in the Cape Colony. He was to have jurisdiction over all Europeans in any part of the Griqua territory. He was to collect the rents and other revenues, and to pay over half to the Griqua government, the other half being retained to defray the cost of administration. All persons of European birth or descent in the Griqua territory were to be considered British subjects. Adam Kok was to place a force of three hundred men at the control of the resident to maintain order, whenever called upon by that officer to do so.

The Griqua captain at once fell in with these proposals, for they gave him the advantage of a revenue, preserved his territorial claims intact, and relieved him of anxiety with regard to European settlers.

It was agreed that the inalienable district, or Griqua reserve as it may be termed, should comprise all the land between the Riet and Orange rivers, from a straight line drawn between Ramah on the Orange and David's Graf at

the confluence of the Riet and Modder rivers eastward to Kromme-Elleboog Spruit, Van Zyl's Spruit, and Lepui's district of Bethulie. At the time this arrangement was made there were upwards of eighty farms held by Europeans in this reserve. Some of these had been purchased from individual Griquas, but it was arranged that as such purchases had not received the sanction of the Griqua government they should be regarded only as leases for forty years.

An agreement embracing these provisions was made between Sir Peregrine Maitland and Adam Kok at Touwfontein in June 1845, and was immediately acted upon, though it was not until February of the following year that a formal treaty to that effect was signed. On the 1st of July the governor left to return to the colony. Before quitting Touwfontein he issued instructions to Mr. Rawstorne to take up his residence at Philippolis and act there as special magistrate. He was to visit Colesberg once a fortnight to hold a court. All the troops were ordered back to the eastern colonial frontier, except the company of Cape mounted riflemen under Captain Warden, that was to proceed to Philippolis and remain there to support the special magistrate.

The situation of British resident was offered by Sir Peregrine Maitland to Major Smith, who had recently been relieved of the command of the troops in Natal, but that officer declined it. It was then offered to Captain Sutton, of the Cape mounted riflemen, who accepted it provisionally, and took over the duties on the 8th of December. Finding, however, that its retention would prevent his promotion in the army, Captain Sutton resigned in January 1846, and was succeeded by Captain Henry Douglas Warden, who has been already mentioned on several occasions.

At Touwfontein the disputes between the chiefs and the conflicting views of the French and Wesleyan missionaries prevented an arrangement being concluded with Moshesh similar to that with Adam Kok. When spoken to on

the subject, the Basuto chief professed to be very willing to fall in with the governor's views. A minute of the conditions proposed by Sir Peregrine Maitland was drawn up, to which Moshesh through his missionaries replied in writing that he was ready to accept a treaty framed according to its principles and provisions. He then proposed to give up for the use of Europeans a small triangular piece of ground between the Caledon and the Orange, stretching upwards from the junction of those rivers to a line drawn from Commissie Drift to Buffels Vlei. From the remainder of the territory assigned to him by the Napier treaty, he desired the governor to enforce the removal of the Europeans, who numbered then four hundred and forty-seven families.

The pretensions of Moshesh were surely hardly less extravagant than those of Adam Kok. There never had been any Basuto residents in or near the little plot of ground which he expressed himself willing to give up for the use of white people, and he wanted a reserve capable of accommodating a tribe six or eight times as great as the one of which he was then the head. According to a return drawn up by his missionaries and forwarded to the governor in his name, his people numbered then between forty and fifty thousand souls.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, though expressing himself "gratified by the readiness with which the chief acceded to the proposals made," deferred proceeding any further with the negotiations until he could obtain a report upon the condition of affairs throughout the country from some able and impartial person. For this purpose he selected Commandant Gideon Joubert, a loyal, intelligent, and trustworthy man, who had previously been employed on several occasions as a special commissioner, and had always performed the duties entrusted to him in a satisfactory manner.

In July and August 1845 Mr. Joubert made a tour of inspection through the country. His first interview of any

importance was with a farmer named David Stephanus Fourie, who informed him that in the year 1839 he had purchased a large tract of land from a Korana captain named David Danser. The land is described in his report as extending "from the Vaal river at the Platberg above the Hart river, which runs in on the north side, in a right line south to the Modder river, along the Modder river upwards to Doorn Spruit, along Doorn Spruit up due north to the Vet river, and thence to where the Vet river runs into the Vaal." The price paid was three hundred sheep and a waggon.* Fourie's statement was afterwards confirmed by several farmers whom Mr. Joubert met, and also by the Bataung chief Tulu, son and successor of Makwana. This purchase of Fourie's was then occupied by twelve emigrant families.

On a tract of reserved land at the head of Coal Spruit, Mr. Joubert found Tulu, the highest chief in rank of the Bataung tribe. Tulu informed him that his father had sold the country to the farmers, except the reserve in which he lived, and he gave a correct account of the destruction of his tribe by the Zulu invasions. Besides the few people with him, he said that there was another remnant of the Bataung in existence, namely the clan under Molitsane, then living under Moshesh's paramount chieftainship. Molitsane, he stated, was a son of Maputu, who was a brother of Makwana's father. Tulu had no complaints to make.

Along the route Mr. Joubert ascertained that the farmers were greatly divided in opinion. A few were desirous of acknowledging the sovereignty of the queen, but most of them were opposed to it. On his arrival at Winburg he

* It would be curious to compare the present value of that tract of land with the price given for it to its native claimant by Fourie. The waggon is stated by Mr. Joubert to have been valued at £67 10*s*. Supposing the sheep to have been worth £75, the whole purchase amount of the principal South African diamond fields and an immense area to the eastward was £142 10*s*. Mr. Joubert describes the district as badly supplied with water, and says Fourie estimated that it would suffice for fifty farms, most of which would be on branches of rivers, but without springs.

found himself in a republican centre. Commandant Jan Kock and his adherents were there, and the chief political topic was denunciation of the British government. Commandant Mocke had moved over the Vaal. At Winburg there was a court of landdrost and heemraden. Mr. J. Meyer, the landdrost, was a timid old man, who was afraid to be seen conversing with a commissioner of the British government, and therefore only communicated with him at night.

From Winburg Mr. Joubert proceeded to visit the chiefs along the Caledon. He found the missionaries of the French and the Wesleyan societies holding opposite opinions as to the right of Moshesh to the sovereignty of the country occupied by Moroko, Gert Taaibosch, Peter Davids, and Carolus Baatje. The commissioner heard the statements of both parties. Though he was indignant at some of the preposterous claims advanced on behalf of Taaibosch, he was inclined on the whole to favour the view of the Wesleyan missionaries, because it was better supported by evidence. He thought it advisable to prevent Moshesh from becoming too powerful, and he correctly forecasted what the result must be if the Basuto tribe should be permitted to absorb its neighbours.

Moroko and Taaibosch offered large tracts of unoccupied ground for the use of Europeans, but Moshesh declined to relinquish more than the little slip which he proposed at Touwfontein. Mr. Joubert reported that he found no Basuto south of the Koesberg, but between that mountain and the line proposed by Moshesh there were seventy-two farms occupied by two hundred and eighty-nine emigrant families.

Mr. Joubert estimated Moshesh's people at fifty or sixty thousand, Moroko's at ten thousand, Molitsane's at one thousand, Gert Taaibosch's at three hundred, Carolus Baatje's at two hundred, and Peter Davids' at two hundred of all ages.

The commissioner's report showed such difficulties in the way of making any arrangement with Moshesh, without

violating the Napier treaty, that no immediate action was taken.

During the summer of 1845-6 a great expansion of the Basuto tribe took place. Moshesh pushed his outposts far forward, on one side towards the Batlokua border, and on the other deep into the district occupied by the farmers. His brother Poshuli, who had up to this time lived at Thaba Tsheu, was sent some thirty-five or forty miles farther southward to take up his residence on Vechtkop,* a mountain of great natural strength as a fortress. This Poshuli, though Moshesh's full brother, had none of the abilities of the great chief. He was a barbarian pure and simple, with no ambition to be anything higher than the head of a robber band, and no qualifications for anything else. He was already notorious as an expert cattle-lifter, and in that capacity he soon attracted a large following. Robbers from the Cape Colony and from Kaffirland, among whom were many Tembus and Fingos, found at Vechtkop a secure retreat for themselves and their booty.

The object of sending Poshuli among the Europeans can only have been to compel them to abandon their farms. It is noteworthy that an experiment like this was never made by Moshesh until he was convinced that such a proceeding towards one body of white men would be viewed with complacency by other white men in South Africa.

His advance in the other direction may have been a feint to divert attention, or it may have been a true forward movement. For several years there had been no serious fighting between the Batlokua of Sikonyela and the Basuto of Moshesh, though the feud between them was as strong as ever. The Batlokua occupied the country on both sides of the Caledon down to the confluence of the Putiatsana. Between them and Moshesh's people there was no defined

* Not to be confounded with the Vechtkop where Potgieter's party repelled the Matabele, from which it is distant some two hundred miles as the crow flies. It is unfortunate that the emigrants were in the habit of giving the same name to various places, a custom which they carried with them from the colony, where it often causes confusion.

boundary, and the border land was thinly inhabited. A body of fresh immigrants was placed under Moshesh's son Molapo, who was directed to occupy it, and when Sikonyela threatened an attack, a strong Basuto army was sent to the front.

At this stage Moshesh reported the matter to the colonial government. Professing to stand in awe of the great power of which he had heard so much, and to believe in its friendly disposition towards him and his people, he announced that he would not enter upon a war without its sanction, unless compelled to do so in self-defence. The British resident considered it his duty to endeavour to prevent hostilities, and Sir Peregrine Maitland approved of his offering to mediate between the chiefs in the capacity of an arbiter selected by themselves to preserve the peace of the country.

With the object of trying to settle this matter and the complicated land questions previously referred to, the British resident invited all the disputants to a conference, which took place at Platberg in March 1846. There were present Captain Warden and his clerk, two French missionaries, a Wesleyan missionary, the chief Moshesh with his sons Letsie and Molapo, the chief Sikonyela with his brother Mota, the chief Molitsane with his sons Moiketsi and Mokhele, the chief Moroko, the captains Adam Kok, Peter Davids, and Carolus Baatje, a representative of Gert Taaibosch, and a number of councillors and leading men of all parties.

The conference lasted nearly two days, at the end of which the British resident, finding it impossible to bring the various chiefs to consent to any arrangement, proposed that they should submit their respective claims to a commission to be appointed by the governor, and engage to keep peace with each other until his Excellency's pleasure should be known. The chiefs agreed to the proposal, and a document to this effect was drawn up and received the marks of them all.

A commission, however, was not then appointed. The governor favoured the proposal, but while the preliminary arrangements were in progress the Kaffir war of 1846-7 broke out on the eastern colonial frontier, and occupied the attention of Sir Peregrine Maitland and of his successor, Sir Henry Pottinger, to the exclusion of less pressing matters.

The British resident, whose title of captain was about this time changed into that of major, selected as the seat of his court and the station of the troops under his command a farm between Kaal Spruit and the Modder river that had been in occupation of an emigrant named Brits, and as Adam Kok was recognised as the sovereign of the territory, the form was gone through of obtaining a cession of the ground from him. The place so selected was Bloemfontein, which thus dates its origin in 1846.

In June of this year some farmers who had been expelled from ground claimed by Griquas placed themselves under the leadership of Commandant Jan Kock at Winburg, and sent messages to Adam Kok threatening to attack him. Thereupon Major Warden demanded assistance from Moroko, Gert Taaibosch, Carolus Baatje, and Peter Davids, and with the troops and a few men furnished by these chiefs he marched to Winburg and dispersed Commandant Kock's followers. On this occasion the major disarmed all the farmers he could get hold of. It was afterwards made a subject of complaint that among those disarmed were several who had never taken part in disturbances, and who were so poor as to depend principally upon game for subsistence.

Towards the close of 1846 Sir Peregrine Maitland endeavoured to eliminate one element of discord from the question of territorial ownership, by offering to Carolus Baatje and Peter Davids, the two captains of the mixed breeds, tracts of land in the valley of the Buffalo river, in the present division of King-Williamstown, if they would remove from Platberg and Lishuane; but the negotiations

fell through. Not long after this, some of Peter Davids' people moved away beyond the lower Vaal, others dispersed in different directions, and the little clan was broken up.

During the progress of the war with the Xosas and Tembus Moshesh expressed the most friendly feelings towards the British government. He offered assistance against the enemy, but the colonial authorities considered it advisable not to encourage his active co-operation. Some strangers, at first believed to be fugitive Kaffirs, having crossed his boundaries, he placed a strong armed party on the frontier professedly to prevent any enemies of the colony from entering his country. It was subsequently ascertained that the strangers who had caused the alarm had not been implicated in the war.

The Baphuti under Morosi were robbed of a few hundred head of cattle by a petty Xosa chief, who took advantage of a time of disturbance to fall upon this clan, between whom and himself there was an ancient feud. This circumstance, however, can hardly be connected with the Kaffir war, though Moshesh wished it to be regarded as a loss sustained by his people in consequence of his alliance with the colony. A few months later both Moshesh and Morosi gave assistance to the British resident in an attack upon some Tembus in the Wittebergen district south of the Orange river. These people were known to be secreting great herds of cattle swept off from the colony by the Xosas, but Major Warden's movement against them, being conducted without instructions, was severely censured by Sir Henry Pottinger.

Now and again the feud between the Batlokua and the Basuto showed itself. Sikonyela adhered but a very short time to the agreement to keep the peace made at Platberg, and with hardly any pretence attacked a petty Basuto captain named Letsela, killed several of his people, and drove off some of his cattle. The affair was investigated by the British resident, whose decision was that the Batlokua chief should restore the booty, but though he promised to do so, he failed to keep his word.

Fourteen years had now elapsed since the arrival of the pioneer French missionaries in the Lesuto, during which time the society had scattered its agents over a large extent of country. In 1837 a station at Thaba Bosigo was founded by Mr. Gosselin, and in the following year Mr. Casalis took up his residence there, leaving Mr. Arbousset at Morija. In 1843 a station was founded by Mr. Maitin at Berea. In the same year a station named Bethesda was formed by Mr. Schrumpf at the principal village of the Baphuti chief Morosi, on the northern bank of the Orange. Three years later Morosi abandoned that side of the Orange, and occupied the district on the southern bank, now called Kuthing (correct Kaffir spelling Quthing), but the country around the station was taken possession of by other individuals of the tribe. In 1846 Mr. Keck commenced a mission at Cana among the people along the Putiatsana, who had only recently been cannibals. Molapo and his followers now removed from Morija as already related, and in defiance of Sikonyela took up their residence near Mr. Keck. In 1847 a station was formed at the Koesberg by Mr. Cochet, and was named by him Hebron. The country all about was occupied by Europeans, but the chief Lebenya with a few followers lived on the mountain. One of the avowed objects of Mr. Cochet in founding this station was to attract a Basuto community to it, and thus extend the tribe in that direction. In 1847 also the station of Hermon was founded by Mr. Dyke. A little later the station of Carmel, which, however, had but a brief existence, was established by Mr. Lemue, who removed from Motito.*

Moshesh, without embracing Christianity himself, was a firm friend of the missionaries, giving them ample protection, making necessary grants of land whenever and wherever they desired, and requiring his subjects to reside in the neighbourhood of the churches and schools. He even took part in public services, and frequently acted as an exhorter.

*Motito was retained by the French missionaries until 1867, when it was transferred to the London society, and became an outstation of Kuruman.

On all important occasions he sought counsel from the Christian teachers, and seldom neglected to do as they advised.

But if the missionaries owed much to Moshesh, he certainly owed more to them. The English government contributed to make him great by its countenance and its protection. The emigrant farmers, by acting as a wall of defence against external enemies, preserved the people from extermination. But the existence of the Basuto as a powerful tribe must be attributed to the French missionaries more than to all other foreign agencies combined. Disintegration would have followed the return of prosperity, the various elements which had not yet had time to blend must have fallen asunder, but for them. They saw the danger of anarchy, and directed every effort to support the influence and power of the great chief, who was not only the friend of missions, but the sole individual capable of preserving order in the land.

His communications with the colonial government were now conducted in the manner of a civilised power, letters being written to his dictation by one or other of the missionaries residing with him, and read by his sons who had been educated in Capetown. His people had advanced greatly in knowledge under the teaching of the French clergymen. Hundreds of his subjects went every year to take service with farmers in the colony, and other hundreds returned, bringing with them the heifers or the guns which they had earned. Large quantities of millet, maize, and even wheat were exchanged after every harvest for articles of English manufacture.

After the skirmish at Zwartkopjes most of those farmers who were opposed to the British government moved from the Riet, Modder, and lower Caledon, either to Winburg or over the Vaal. To this time the districts of Potchefstroom and Winburg had been united under one council and one chief commandant, Hendrik Potgieter. Mr. Potgieter resided at Magalisberg, but occasionally he visited the southern

portion of the republic. In January 1843 he convened a meeting at Thaba Ntshu of the chiefs along the Caledon, and renewed with them the old agreements of peace and friendship. From the first appearance of the English troops in Natal, however, his attention was directed to the far north, where alone he believed the emigrants would be left to themselves. With the country in that direction as far as the Limpopo he was already well acquainted. Besides the journeys which have been mentioned, in May 1843 he conducted another unsuccessful expedition against Moselekatse, for the purpose of endeavouring to recover the three captive Christian children, whose relatives would not be comforted, but insisted upon an effort being made for their release.

When Natal was lost to the emigrants, Messrs. Smellekamp and Ham found means to communicate with Commandant Potgieter from Delagoa Bay. In December 1843 a party of fifty farmers left Winburg with sixteen waggons to convey these gentlemen inland, but their cattle were destroyed by the tsetse, and they were obliged to turn back before reaching their destination. In June of the following year Commandant Mocke with eighty farmers made another attempt to reach Delagoa Bay, but again met with failure.

Mr. Smellekamp then advised the emigrants to make a general move to the north-east, and this fell in with Commandant Potgieter's own views. Towards the close of 1844 a few families were on the march, and in 1845 there was a large migration from Potchefstroom and Winburg. The object was to get within easy reach of Delagoa Bay and to be beyond fear of collision with the British government. A little north of the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude and near the thirty-first degree of longitude this party of emigrants founded a village which they named Andries-Ohrigstad, after the first name of the commandant and the surname of Mr. G. G. Ohrig of Amsterdam. There they were smitten with fever, and were reduced to extreme distress. Some then moved to a better site a short distance away, and founded the village of Lydenburg, which was so

called from their recent suffering. This party was speedily reinforced by fresh arrivals from the south.

Another detachment with the commandant himself moved farther towards the interior, and settled at Zoutpansberg. Andries-Ohrigstad was, however, for some time considered the seat of government of the whole republic, and Potchefstroom and Winburg were termed adjuncts to it.

The district along the Mooi river which was thus abandoned by Commandant Potgieter's party was taken possession of by those emigrants who would not submit to the British authorities after the establishment of the colonial government in Natal and after the skirmish at Zwartkopjes.

In the rugged district of the Lulu mountains, east of the Olifants river, there was then living a tribe called the Bapedi. The people composing it were of the same section of the Bantu as the retainers of Moshesh, and their recent history was almost identical. Some twenty-eight years earlier, just after the death of Tulare, the great chief of the country, a Zulu army led by Moselekatse laid waste the land, destroyed most of its inhabitants, and compelled the remainder to disperse. After a time Moselekatse withdrew, and then Sekwati, son of Tulare, returned from beyond the Limpopo, where he had taken refuge. In the land of his fathers he collected together not only the remnant of the original Bapedi, but refugees from numerous other broken tribes who now took the Bapedi name.

In the winter of 1846 a quarrel arose between the Bapedi and the emigrant farmers. Thereupon Commandant Potgieter, with one hundred and fifty burghers, Matlabe's Barolong and a party of blacks under a half-breed son of the outlaw Coenraad du Buis, attacked the Bapedi, and took from them eight thousand head of horned cattle and six thousand goats. The spoil was equally divided between the Europeans and the blacks belonging to the commando. Peace was restored by the submission of the Bapedi chief to the emigrant government.

In June 1847 Commandant Potgieter led another expedition against Moselekatse. After a weary march the Matabele were found a long way north of the Limpopo, and sixteen hundred head of cattle were seized at an outpost. But during the same day Moselekatse's warriors appeared in such force that the commando was compelled to retire. Their horses were nearly worn out, so that they were unable to bring away the captured cattle.

In June 1846 the court of landdrost and heemraden, which had existed at Winburg ever since the foundation of that village, ceased to meet, owing to the attack by Major Warden which has been related. This court had acted not only in a judicial capacity for the trial of civil and criminal cases, but as an orphan chamber, and before it marriages had been contracted. Its want was therefore greatly felt. On the 5th of August 1847 those emigrants who were well affected towards the British government met at Winburg, and elected Mr. Gerrit Hendrik Meyer landdrost. Mr. Meyer stated that he would not accept the office without the sanction of her Majesty's high commissioner, and a memorial asking Sir Henry Pottinger's approval of their proceedings was therefore drawn up and signed by seventy individuals. In order that this might become generally known, it was resolved not to forward the memorial until the 17th of September.

On the 27th of October a much larger meeting was held at Winburg, when Mr. Meyer was deposed, those who had elected him were denounced as enemies of the republic, and Mr. Willem Jacobs was chosen as landdrost.

At this time there were some two thousand emigrant families between the Vaal and Orange rivers, and of these fully fifteen hundred were opposed to British rule. Jan Kock's party was scattered along both sides of the Vaal as far down as the Mooi river. The commandant himself was occupying a farm near Potchefstroom.

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Bapedi tribe: history of the, 443; see Sekwati

* Barend Barends: in 1820 moves away from Griquatown and sets up an independent government at Daniel's Kuil; subsequently moves to Boetsap and settles there, 411

Barnes, Major James: in January 1839 becomes the first resident magistrate of Caledon, 228

* Barolong tribe: see Matlabe, Masisi, Moroko, and Tawane

* Basutoland: by a treaty in December 1843 between Sir George Napier and Moshesh a great tract of country is assigned to the Basuto tribe, and is thenceforth termed Basutoland or the Lesuto

* Basuto tribe: see Molitsane, Morosi, and Moshesh

* Bataung tribe: see Makwana, Molitsane, and Tulu

* Bathurst, village of: at the beginning of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is abandoned, 92; but is shortly afterwards reoccupied

* Bawana : in 1829 is murdered by a petty captain named Batsa, 8
* Beaufort West, district of : in August 1836 is placed under a civil commissioner independent of Graaff-Reinet, 166
* Beaufort West, town of : is the first municipality in the Cape Colony, 167
Beersheba mission station : in 1835 is founded by the reverend Mr. Rolland at Zevenfontein on the right bank of the Caledon river, 284
* Bell, Lieutenant-Colonel John : during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 administers the government while Sir Benjamin D'Urban is on the frontier, 97 ; on the 10th of June 1841 goes to England on leave, and as he receives military promotion there does not return, 214
Bell, William, master of the schooner *Conch:* in June 1842 conveys troops to Natal to aid the British force beleaguered there, 373 ; on the 22nd of December 1844 is appointed harbour master of Port Natal, 399
Berea mission station : in 1843 is founded in the Lesuto by the Paris evangelical society, 440
* Bergh, Egbertus : in the great retrenchment of 1834 is reduced to be assistant civil commissioner and resident magistrate of George, 44
Berlin missionary society : in 1834 commences to labour in South Africa, 84
Berrange, Rev. J. F. : in 1844 becomes the first resident clergyman of Richmond, 246
Bethesda mission station : in 1843 is founded in the Lesuto by the Paris evangelical society, 440
Bezant, Charles : on the 6th of July 1838 is murdered at Pato's kraal, 186
Biggar, Alexander : in 1820 arrives in South Africa as head of a party of British settlers, 312 ; in 1834 establishes himself as a trader at Port Natal, 312 ; in May 1838 is appointed landdrost of Port Natal, but declines to perform the duties, 328 ; on the 23rd of December 1838 is killed in battle with the Zulus, 332
Biggar, George, son of Alexander : in 1834 arrives in Natal, 316 ; on the 17th of February 1838 is murdered by the Zulus in the great massacre of the emigrant farmers, 321.
Biggar, Robert, son of Alexander : is in nominal command of a force which marches from Port Natal against Dingan and which succeeds in securing a good deal of plunder, when it is broken up by internal dissension, 323 ; a few days later, when in command of another expedition, on the 17th of April 1838 is killed in battle with the Zulus, 326
Bird, Wilberforce : is controller of customs at Capetown, 44 ; on the 19th of April 1836 dies
Blankets : before 1834 are manufactured in the district of Albany, 39
Bloemfontein, town of : in 1846 is founded, 438
Board of executors for administering estates : in 1838 is founded in Capetown, 225

Board of relief: is constituted by Sir Benjamin D'Urban soon after the commencement of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 to alleviate the misery of the ruined colonists, 98

* Borcherds, P. B.: in 1834 his title is changed to civil commissioner and resident magistrate, and the district of Simonstown is joined to the Cape and placed under his charge, 44

Boshof, Jacobus Nicolaas: in May 1838 arrives in Natal, and thereafter takes a leading part in the affairs of that territory, 327

Botumane, captain of a section of [illegible] takes possession of the west[illegible] November 1833, owing to dep[illegible] to leave that territory, 55; [illegible] to lay waste the frontier distr[illegible] the conflict until the 17th of [illegible] terms of peace and becomes [illegible] December 1836 is released f[illegible] treaty with the British gove[illegible] 1840 agrees to certain modif[illegible] George Napier, 187; on the [illegible] treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Ma[illegible]

* Boundaries of the Cape Colony: see Extension

Boundary between the districts of Albany and Somerset East: in [illegible] 1837 is defined, 165

Boundaries of the republic of Natal, 346

Bowker, John Mitford: in 1835 at the close of the sixth Kaffir war is appointed agent with the Gunukwebes and the Fingos, and is stationed at Fort Peddie, 130; in February 1839 is succeeded in that office by Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, 190

Bowker, Miles: is the first breeder of woolled sheep in Albany, 39

Boyce, Rev. William: at the commencement of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is obliged to abandon his station, 111; assists in the negotiations by which the war is brought to an end, 123; upon the conclusion of peace reoccupies the mission station Mount Coke, 131

van Breda, Michiel: is one of the earliest successful breeders of merino sheep in the Cape Colony, 39; is one of the first unofficial members of the legislative council established in 1834, 48

van Breda, Michiel (not the above): in June 1842 takes a leading part in resistance to the British troops at Natal, 371; in July is excepted from the general amnesty agreed to by Colonel Cloete, 377; a reward of £250 is offered by Sir George Napier for his apprehension, but no one molests him, 378

van Breda, Servaas: in June 1842 takes a leading part in resistance to the British troops at Natal, 371; in July is excepted from the general amnesty agreed to by Colonel Cloete, 377; a reward of £250 is offered by Sir George Napier for his apprehension, but no one molests him, 378

Bredasdorp, village of: in May 1838 is founded, 218
Bredasdorp, Dutch reformed church at: on the 27th of April 1839 the first consistory is appointed, 218
Brink, Rev. J. J.: in May 1839 becomes the first resident clergyman of Bredasdorp, 218
Brownlee, James: visits Dingan a few hours after the massacre of Pieter Retief and his party, 320
* Brownlee, Rev. John, missionary with the Tinde clan: at the beginning of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 with his family takes refuge at Wesleyville, and is there rescued by a party of volunteers, 99; upon the conclusion of peace re-establishes the mission with Tshatshu's people, 131
Buchanan, Thomas: in July 1840 opens in Capetown the first normal school in the Cape Colony, 212
Buffalo river mouth, on the south-eastern coast of Africa: in November 1836 is first used as a place for landing and shipping goods, 134
* du Buis, Coenraad: in 1815 flees from Swellendam to the neighbourhood of Klaarwater, north of the Orange river, where he leads a lawless life, 277; after a time moves farther northward, and spends the remainder of his days on the banks of the Limpopo, 277
Buku (correct Kaffir spelling Buru), right-hand son of Kawuta, Xosa chief: on the 1st of May 1835 is given by his half-brother Hintsa to Sir Benjamin D'Urban as a hostage for the fulfilment of terms of peace, 112; is detained two months, and is then set at liberty, 117
Bunbury, Charles: accompanies Sir George Napier to South Africa, 173
Buntingville mission station: in March 1830 is founded in Pondoland by the Wesleyan society, 52; is abandoned during the Kaffir war of 1834-5, but early in 1836 is reoccupied, 132
Burger, Jacobus Johannes: from 1840 to 1842 is secretary of the volksraad of Natal, 351; in July 1842 is excepted from the general amnesty agreed to by Colonel Cloete, 377; a reward of £250 is offered by Sir George Napier for his apprehension, but no one molests him, 378
Burgerskloof, in the district of Piketberg: on the 1st of February 1846 the Moravian mission school is opened at
Burghersdorp, village of: in March 1847 is founded, 247
Burghersdorp, Dutch reformed church at: in January 1847 the first consistory commences duty, 247
Burke, Rev. Dr.: in 1838 becomes the first Roman catholic clergyman of Grahamstown, 225
Burnshill mission station: in June 1830 is founded on the upper Keiskama, 99; is named after the reverend John Burns, one of the founders of the Glasgow missionary society, 131; during the war of 1834-5 is abandoned, but on the conclusion of peace is again occupied, 131

*Burton, W. W.: in November 1832 is transferred to the supreme court of New South Wales, 46
* Bushmen: between 1826 and 1836 are exterminated by the Griquas in the territory between the Orange and Modder rivers, 413
Butterworth mission station: in July 1827 is founded by the Wesleyan society, 52; during the war of 1834-5 is destroyed by the Xosas, 109; early in 1836 is occupied again, 132
* Buxton, Mr. Fowell: in 1835 is chairman of a committee of the house of commons appointed to take evidence regarding the aborigines in British settlements, 137

Caledon, district of: in January 1839 is created, 228
* Caledon, earl of: on the 8th of April 1839 dies, 232
* Caledon, village of: on the 4th of September 1840 becomes a municipality
* Campbell, Duncan: makes unsuccessful efforts to farm with southdown sheep, 39; from March to September 1833 acts as commissioner-general of the eastern province, 84; in 1834 becomes civil-commissioner and resident magistrate of Albany, 44; in August 1838 retires on a pension, 181
Cane, John: in 1824 accompanies Mr. Farewell to Natal, and remains in that country, 298; in 1828 is sent to Capetown by Tshaka to greet the governor, 301; after Mr. Farewell's death in September 1829 becomes chief of a party of blacks, 305; in October 1830 is sent by Dingan with a present of ivory to the governor of the Cape Colony, but is not allowed to proceed farther than Grahamstown, and the present is declined, 305; returns to Natal, 306; in November 1837 accompanies Pieter Retief to Umkungunhlovu, 314; early in April 1838 takes part in an attack upon Dingan's army, 323; and on the 17th of that month is killed in battle with the Zulus, 326
Cape mounted riflemen: see Hottentot regiment
Cape of Good Hope bank: in August 1837 is established in Capetown, 168; in September 1890 is closed, 169
Cape of Good Hope fire assurance company: in 1835 is founded in Capetown, 225
Cape of Good Hope marine assurance company: in 1838 is founded in Capetown, 225
Cape of Good Hope punishment bill: in August 1836 is passed by the imperial parliament at the instance of Lord Glenelg, 147; provisions of, 311
* Capetown: during the government of Sir Lowry Cole great changes are made in its appearance, 16; on the 3rd of March 1840 is created a municipality, 168; is considerably improved in appearance during the government of Sir George Napier, 227
Carlisle, Rev. Mr., clergyman of the English episcopal church at Grahamstown: on the 12th of July 1828 arrives from England

Casa, petty captain of the Amambala clan: in December 1834 attacks a military patrol, but is called back by his chief, 88; as a punishment is required by Colonel Somerset to leave the ceded territory, 88

Causes of the great emigration of Dutch speaking people from the Cape Colony in and after 1836, 266

Census in 1835 of Bantu between the Fish and Kei rivers south of the Amatola range, 131

Chalmers, Rev. William, missionary at the Tyumie: in December 1834 is required by the chief Tyali to act as his secretary, 90; on the 20th of January 1835 is rescued by a military patrol, 99; at the close of the war returns to his station at the Tyumie, 131

Champion, Rev. Mr., American missionary: in February 1836 assists to found the first mission station in Natal, 310; in April 1838 leaves Natal owing to the disturbances there, and never returns, 326

* Charter of justice: provisions of the second, which came in force on the 1st of March 1834, 45

Charters, Major Samuel, military secretary to Sir George Napier: in November 1838 is sent with a body of troops to occupy Port Natal, 334; constructs a stockaded fort there, which he names Fort Victoria, 335; takes possession of all the ammunition in store at the port, 335; as soon as the troops are settled returns to Capetown, leaving Captain Henry Jervis in command, 336

Chase *versus* Fairbairn: particulars of an action for libel in the *Commercial Advertiser*, 161

Children's Friend Society: particulars concerning, 193

Christophers, Joseph H.: in 1843 inaugurates a system of immigration by which a few artisans arrive at Port Elizabeth, 193

Church building, Dutch reformed, in Table Valley: in 1836 the greater part of the building erected at the commencement of the eighteenth century is broken down for the purpose of enlargement, and in 1841 the present edifice on the same site is opened for use, 227

Cilliers, Carel, a pious farmer of puritan simplicity: accompanies the second large body of emigrants from the Cape Colony, 274; is one of a party that between May and September 1836 explores the country from the Vaal river to the Zoutpansberg, 276; in October assists in the defence of the camp at Vechtkop when attacked by the Matabele, 280; in January 1837 accompanies a commando which defeats the Matabele at Mosega, 286; in November of the same year takes part in the expedition that drives the Matabele beyond the Limpopo, 294; is one of the ablest and most valiant warriors in the commando that on the 16th of December 1838 inflicts a crushing defeat upon Dingan, 332

* Civil commissioners: in 1834 the office is united with that of resident magistrate, 44

* Clanwilliam, village of: in November 1831 is provided with a clergyman of the Dutch reformed church

Clanwilliam, district of: on the 1st of January 1837 is separated from Worcester, having previously been only a sub-district, 166

Clarkebury mission station: in April 1830 is founded in Tembuland by the Wesleyan society, 52; during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is abandoned, but early in 1836 is reoccupied, 132

Clarkson, Moravian mission station: in 1838 is founded for the benefit of the Fingos at Zitzikama, 177

Cloete, Advocate Henry: on the 12th of May 1843 is sent to Natal as a commissioner to collect information, 382; on the 8th of August receives the submission of the volksraad to the conditions imposed by the secretary of state for the colonies, 389; on the 1st of October visits Panda, 392; and obtains that chief's consent to a new boundary between Zululand and Natal, 392; at the same time obtains from Panda the cession of St. Lucia Bay to the queen of England, 393; on the 13th of November 1845 is appointed recorder of Natal, 400

* Cloete, Lieutenant-Colonel A. J.: in June 1842 is sent from Capetown with troops to succour the British force beleaguered in Natal, 373; and succeeds in that object, 374; calls upon the farmers to submit to the queen's authority, 376; on the 15th of July receives the submission of the volksraad, 377; and then returns to Capetown, leaving Major Smith in command of the troops in Natal, 377

Cloete, Pieter Laurens: is one of the first unofficial members of the legislative council established in 1834, 48

Cock, William: makes great efforts to improve Port Frances, 200; in October 1847 becomes a member of the legislative council of the Cape Colony, 240

Cole, Lieutenant-General Sir Galbraith Lowry: on the 9th of September 1828 assumes duty as governor of the Cape Colony, 1; after an administration of nearly five years resigns, and on the 10th of August 1833 embarks for England, 29; on the 4th of October 1842 dies, 232

Colesberg, district of: on the 6th of February 1837 is created, 164

* Colesberg, village of: on the 19th of June 1840 becomes a municipality

Collis, James: in August 1831 settles at Port Natal, 306; in 1835 is killed there by an explosion of gunpowder, 308

Colonial bank: in 1844 is established in Capetown, 242

Commando law: particulars concerning the ordinance of June 1833, which was disallowed by the imperial government, 27

* Commandos entering Kaffirland to make reprisals for stolen cattle: particulars of one in November 1824 against Makoma under Captain the honourable John Massey, 1; of one in December 1825 against Susa, 2; of one in June 1830 against some petty captains under Makoma and Tyali, 53

* Commerce with Kaffirs: description of the method of conducting barter, 52

* *Commercial Advertiser*: on the 10th of May 1827 is suppressed by the government for the second time, 14; but on the 3rd of October 1828

is again resumed, 15; during the war of 1834-5 creates irritation on the frontier of the Cape Colony by advocating the Kaffir cause, 93; is the organ of the party opposed to Sir Benjamin D'Urban's arrangements after the close of the war, 136; supports the measures carried out by Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, 155; note upon, 156

* Commissioner-general for the eastern province: on the 1st of January 1834 the office is abolished, 84

Consistories of the Dutch reformed church: constitution of, 222

Constitution of nine articles: on the 6th of June 1837 is adopted by the emigrant farmers at Winburg, 290

Construction of roads in the Cape Colony by convict labour: particulars of the system introduced in 1843, 230

* Council of advice: in 1834 is superseded by the creation of distinct executive and legislative councils, 47

Cowie, Dr.: with Mr. Benjamin Green in 1829 travels from the Cape Colony by way of Natal to Delagoa Bay, 305; and perishes of fever when trying to return, 305

Cowie, William: in May 1838 is appointed fieldcornet of Port Natal, 328; on the 22nd of December 1844 is appointed first postmaster at Durban, 399

Cox, Major William: in January 1835, during the sixth Kaffir war, commands the patrol that commences operations against the Xosas, 96; in March commands one of the four divisions of the army which enters Kaffirland, 102; five months later assists in the conferences by which the war is brought to an end, 124

Cradock, district of: on the 6th of February 1837 is created, 164

Craig, John Moore: from the 10th of June 1841 to the 23rd of April 1843 acts as secretary to government in the Cape Colony, 214

* Customs duties of the Cape Colony: as levied from 1806 to 1835, 33 *et seq.*; particulars concerning various changes between 1834 and 1850, 205

* Cuyler, Jacob Glen (Lieutenant-General): on the 14th of April 1854 dies at Cuyler Manor in Uitenhage

Daniell, Lieutenant Richard: is one of the early breeders of merino sheep in the district of Albany, 40

Danser, David, Korana captain: in 1839 sells a tract of land containing the present principal diamond mines to David Stephanus Fourie, 434

Daumas, Rev. Mr., of the Paris evangelical society: in 1837 commences a mission at Mekuatling with the Bataung under Molitsane, 403

* Davids, Peter, Griqua captain: in January 1837 assists the emigrant farmers against the Matabele, 285; complains of the injustice done to him by the treaty of 1843 between Sir George Napier and the Basuto chief Moshesh, 421; in June 1846 assists Major Warden to disperse the adherents of Jan Kock, 438; shortly after this event the members of his little clan move away in different directions, and he ceases to be of any importance, 439

Davis, Rev. W. J., missionary at Clarkebury: in April 1835 during the Kaffir war is rescued by a military patrol, 111

Debt, colonial public: is paid off during the governments of Sir George Napier and Sir Peregrine Maitland, 198

* Delagoa Bay: in 1829 is visited by an exploring expedition from the Cape Colony, 305; see Lourenço Marques

Delancey, Captain Peter: in January 1836 is sent on a diplomatic mission to the chiefs Kreli, Vadana, Faku, and Ncapayi, 132

* Denyssen, Daniel: on the 18th of February 1855 dies

Denyssen, Advocate Pieter Jan: is the first secretary of the municipality of Capetown, 168

* Dingan: on the 23rd of September 1828 with two others murders his brother Tshaka, 303; shortly afterwards with his own hand assassinates one of his fellow conspirators, 303; and then becomes chief of the Zulu tribe, 303; in which capacity he displays the vilest qualities, 303; he invites the Europeans at Port Natal to remain there for trading purposes, 304; in October 1830 sends an embassy with a present of ivory to the governor of the Cape Colony, but it is not received, 305; which greatly irritates him, 306; in 1834 to give confidence to the Europeans at Port Natal he withdraws his soldiers from the southern side of the lower Tugela, 307; in June 1835 makes Captain Gardiner chief of the Natal people and gives him permission to establish two mission stations, 310; also gives the American missionaries leave to form stations in his country, 310; claims dominion over the whole territory between the Drakensberg and the sea as far south as the Umzimvubu, 312; during the winter of 1837 sends an expedition against Moselekatse, which secures much spoil, 292; in November 1837 promises Pieter Retief a tract of land on condition of recovering some cattle stolen from the Zulus by Sikonyela's Batlokua, 315; the condition being fulfilled, on the 4th of February 1838 he cedes to the emigrant farmers the territory between the Tugela and Umzimvubu rivers, 317; having succeeded in throwing Retief and his companions off their guard, on the 6th he causes them all to be murdered, 317; immediately afterwards sends his warriors to exterminate the emigrants in Natal, 320; and on the 17th of February another dreadful massacre takes place, 320; some of the emigrants, however, receive warning in time, and successfully defend themselves in lagers, 320; on the 11th of April his army defeats an emigrant commando under H. Potgieter and P. Uys, 324; and on the 17th of the same month in a desperate battle almost annihilates the Englishmen and blacks of Natal, 325; the army afterwards destroys everything of value at Durban, 326; in August it is again sent against the emigrants in Natal, but is beaten back with heavy loss, 328; on the 16th of December 1838 at the Blood river it suffers a crushing defeat from the emigrant farmers under Commandant-General Pretorius, 331; Dingan then sets fire

to his kraal and takes shelter in the thickets along the Umvolosi river, 332; in and after March 1839 he makes insincere overtures for peace to the emigrant farmers, 337; in September of this year his brother Panda conspires against him, 341; the emigrant farmers assist the rebel, 342; on the 30th of January 1840 Dingan's army is defeated with very heavy loss, and he then flees to the border of the Swazi country, 344; where he is shortly afterwards assassinated, 344; his destruction enables the remnants of dispersed tribes to emerge from their hiding-places and form themselves into settled communities, 401

District: this word is defined by a proclamation of Sir George Napier on the 5th of February 1839 to mean the area under the jurisdiction of a resident magistrate, 228

Division: this word is defined by a proclamation of Sir George Napier on the 5th of February 1839 to mean the area under the administration of a civil commissioner, 228

Doncaster, the: on the 17th of July 1836 is wrecked near Cape Agulhas, 243

* Donkin, Sir Rufane Shawe: on the 1st of May 1841 dies, 232

Drostdies: during the governments of Sir George Napier and Sir Peregrine Maitland all except the one at Worcester are sold to aid in the extinction of the colonial debt, 237

Dugmore, Rev. Mr., missionary at Mount Coke: at the beginning of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 takes refuge at Wesleyville, and is there rescued by a party of volunteers, 99

Duplooy, Commandant Jacobus: is head of a party of emigrant farmers in the territory north of the Orange river, and assists in hostilities against the Griquas of Adam Kok, 426; on the 2nd of May 1845 takes part in the skirmish at Zwartkopjes against British troops and Griquas, 428; after the defeat flees to Winburg, 429

Durand, Commandant Jan: in December 1825 assists in an expedition against Susa, 2

D'Urban, Lady: in 1836 founds a girls' school of industry at Wynberg, 172; on the 23rd of August 1843 dies in Capetown, 172

D'Urban, Major-General Sir Benjamin: on the 16th of January 1834 assumes duty as governor of the Cape Colony, 29; on the 20th of January 1835 arrives in Grahamstown and assumes command of the forces collected to oppose the Xosas, 97; after the cessation of resistance by the Rarabe clans, on the 15th of April crosses the Kei into the Galeka territory, 108; on the 30th of April concludes peace with Hintsa, 112; and on the 19th of May, after Hintsa's death, with the young chief Kreli, 117; on the 10th of May issues a proclamation annexing to the British dominions the territory from the frontier of the Cape Colony to the Kei river, 114; on the 11th of June transfers the direct command of the forces in the field to Colonel Smith, 121; and on the 17th of September brings the sixth

Kaffir war to an end by receiving the Rarabe clans as British subjects, 125; forms an excellent plan for the government of the Kaffirs in the province of Queen Adelaide, 129; on the 14th of October extends the north-eastern boundary of the colony to the Kraai river, 133; on the 30th of December reaches Capetown again, 135; is greatly esteemed by the colonists, 135; but is very unfavourably regarded by Lord Glenelg, secretary of state, 145; as they hold different views on many subjects, 169; and the tone of his despatches gives great offence, 171; in January 1837 he becomes a lieutenant-general, 172; but a few months later is dismissed from office as governor, 171; on the 22nd of January 1838 transfers the duty to his successor, 172; but remains until April 1846 in South Africa, 172; is then appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in British North America, and acts in that capacity until the 25th of May 1849, when he dies at Montreal, 172

Durban, town of: on the 23rd of June 1835 is laid out and named by some Englishmen living at Port Natal, 308

* Dushane, Xosa chief: in January 1824 concludes an agreement of friendship with the colonial government, 6; in 1828 dies, 50

* Dutch reformed church in the Cape Colony: particulars concerning, 11, 18, 22, 216, 221, and 246

* Dutch reformed church in the Cape Colony, extension of: elders and deacons are approved by the government on the 17th of July 1829 for the congregation at Glen Lynden, 23; on the 2nd of September 1829 for the congregation at Wynberg, 23; for the congregation of Riebeek East on the 9th of March 1830 the civil commissioner of Albany was directed by the secretary to government to nominate elders and deacons for the governor's approval. The next letter on the subject to be found in Capetown is from the reverend Alexander Smith, of Uitenhage, stating that he had ordained the elders and deacons in January 1831, and that on the 22nd of April 1831 the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet had appointed the reverend Mr. Morgan, of Somerset East, consulent of the new congregation. The church at Stockenstrom was founded by the reverend William Ritchie Thomson, government missionary, who in July 1830 was introduced to the members of the Dutch church there by the reverend Mr. Morgan, of Somerset East, but who found no persons competent to fill the offices of elders and deacons. On the 2nd of June 1831 Mr. Thomson joined the Dutch reformed church. Provisional officers acted until the 5th of April 1834, when elders and deacons nominated by the civil commissioner of Albany were ordained by Mr. Thomson, though they were not formally confirmed by the governor until the 11th of December 1834. The church at Piketberg was organised by the reverend William Robertson, of Clanwilliam, in accordance with a recommendation of the presbytery of the Cape in 1831, which received the full approval of the governor. Elders and deacons

nominated by the civil commissioner of the Cape were ordained by Mr. Robertson about or before the 17th of October 1833, but none were formally approved by the governor until the 23rd of October 1834, when the clergyman of Malmesbury was appointed consulent. On the 27th of April 1839 elders and deacons were approved by the governor for the church in Riversdale; on the 27th of April 1839 for the church in Bredasdorp; on the 22nd of June 1840 for the church in Wellington; on the 24th of November 1842 for the church in Prince Albert; on the 2nd of November 1843 for the church in Richmond. For Victoria West a list of names for approval of elders and deacons was submitted by the presbytery of Beaufort to the governor, who on the 3rd of November 1843 declined to confirm them on the ground that the establishment of a congregation there had not been sanctioned by him. To a further communication the secretary to government was directed to reply to the presbytery clerk, 12th of December 1843, that "his Excellency saw no occasion for submitting the names of any consistories for his approval, and much less the names of consistories in congregations not supported by government." The churches from this date forward were free of control in the appointment of their elders and deacons, though as a matter of courtesy the governor approved on the 9th of May 1845 of the names submitted to him for the consistory of the new congregation at French Hoek. See Burghersdorp, Kruisvallei, Mossel Bay, and Victoria West. After the 14th of May 1845 the salaries of church clerks, sextons, organists, and bellringers ceased to be paid by government, and the churches were left free in the appointments to these offices.

* Earthquake, shock of: on the 11th of November 1835 is felt in Cape-town, 169

Eastern province of the Cape Colony: the English inhabitants desire to have a government separate from that of the western province, 240; but in November 1847 the lieutenant-governor is withdrawn, 242

Eastern Province bank: in 1839 is founded in Grahamstown, 226

Eastern Province fire and life assurance company: in 1839 is founded in Grahamstown, 226

Ebden, John Bardwell: is one of the first unofficial members of the legislative council established in 1834, 48

Elizabeth and Susan, a small schooner: in 1828 is built on the southern shore of Port Natal, 301; in December of the same year is seized at Algoa Bay and detained by the authorities for being without a license, 304

England, Lieutenant-Colonel Richard: in 1834 is in command of the garrison of Grahamstown, 86; on the 11th of February 1835 with a division of the British forces attacks the hostile Xosas in the thickets

along the Fish river, 101; when the army enters Kaffirland in the following month he is left in command of the line of defence, 103

* English episcopal church: particulars concerning, 17, 83, 84, 223, 245, and 249; its clergymen are under the superintendence of an ecclesiastical board in London, and to some extent also under the supervision of the senior chaplain in Capetown, 223; at the beginning of 1844 has nine congregations with clergymen in the Cape Colony, 223

Eno, chief of the Amambala clan of Xosas: in 1826 takes possession of the western bank of the Keiskama, above the Gwanga, 5; in November 1834 is implicated in a theft of horses from the colony, 87; but upon Colonel Somerset's demand gives redress for this and other acts of violence by his people, 88; in December sends his followers to plunder and lay waste the frontier districts of the Cape Colony, 90; in January 1835 is attacked by a patrol under Major Cox, and suffers some loss, 96; continues the conflict until the 17th of September 1835, when he agrees to become a British subject, 125; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 150; on the 2nd of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 187; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 259

Erasmus, Fieldcornet Pieter: in June 1830 leads an expedition against the Xosa captain Sigcawu, who is killed, 53 and 54

Erasmus, Stephanus: is attacked by a band of Matabele warriors in 1836 while on a hunting excursion north of the Vaal, when four white men and a number of coloured servants are murdered, 278

Erebus and *Terror*, exploring ships: in April 1843 visit Simon's Bay, 228

Executive council: in 1834 is established in the Cape Colony, 47; on the 26th of June 1840 is enlarged by a seat being given to the collector of customs, 214

Expenditure of the Cape colonial government after 1823: particulars concerning, 33

* Exports of South African produce from 1806 to 1835: particulars concerning, 36 to 43; from 1836 to 1850, 207

Exports of Natal in 1845: value of, 400

* Extension of the Cape Colony: in April 1829 without a formal proclamation it is extended to the watershed between the upper Tyumie and Kat rivers, an irregular line from the Tyumie to the Kat a little below Fort Beaufort, and the Kat river to its junction with the Fish, 9; on the 14th of October 1835 the colony is extended by Sir Benjamin D'Urban to the Kraai river on the north-east, 133; but on the 5th of December 1836 is contracted again by Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom to the Stormberg spruit, 150

* Fairbairn, John: after the suppression of the *Commercial Advertiser* in May 1827 proceeds to England and induces Sir George Murray

to promise that the press in South Africa shall be freed from the control of the governor and council, 14; takes a very active part in the improvement of the public school system, 210

Faku, paramount chief of the Pondo tribe: in July 1828 is visited by Major Dundas, 353; his country has recently been overrun by Tshaka's army, and he and his people are living in the valley of the Umgazi river in great poverty, 353; he sends messengers to Tshaka to beg to be received as a vassal, and they reach their destination on the very day of the Zulu chief's assassination, 353; in May 1829 he is visited by the reverend William Shaw, 353; he is then in better circumstances than in the preceding year, 353; immediately afterwards missionaries of the Wesleyan society settle in his country, 353; his tribe is then weak, is entirely confined to the western side of the Umzimvubu, and is living in constant turmoil, 353; in 1835 he promises friendship to the Cape Colony during the war with the Xosas, 104; in February 1836 he is visited by Captain P. Delancey, 132; early in 1838 in alliance with the Baca chief Ncapayi he sweeps the Tembu country of cattle, 354; he exchanges friendly messages with the emigrant farmers immediately after they enter Natal, 355; on the 10th and 11th of March 1838 he and his people cross the Umzimvubu and build new kraals on the Umzimhlava, 356; early in 1839 he is informed by the reverend Mr. Jenkins—without authority—that Sir George Napier guarantees to him the whole territory northward to the Umzimkulu, 356; by the close of this year he and his people are in a fairly prosperous condition, 357; in April 1840 he makes war with Ncapayi, 357; in December 1840, owing to an attack by the emigrant farmers upon the Bacas of Ncapayi, he calls the missionaries in his neighbourhood together to give him advice, 359; in his name and with his consent the missionaries write to Sir George Napier craving protection and claiming the territory northward to the Umzimkulu, 359; a body of troops is then sent to form a camp on the Umgazi for his defence, 360; on the 7th of October 1844 he enters into a treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, in which all the territory south of the Umzimkulu is surrendered to him, 395; after which he puts forward claims of supremacy over other chiefs which perpetuate the old wars and confusion, 396; on the 30th of October 1867 he dies

Farewell, Francis George: in 1823 visits Natal on a trading expedition, 295; is so impressed with the capabilities of the country that he resolves to establish himself there, 297; induces about twenty-five individuals to join him in the enterprise, 297; in June 1824 settles on the northern shore of the inlet, 297; shortly afterwards is abandoned by all of the adventurers except four, 297; in July visits Tshaka, 298; on the 7th of August receives from Tshaka a grant of a large tract of land round Port Natal, 299; on the 1st of December 1828 leaves Natal to procure goods in the Cape Colony, 304; when

returning overland in September 1829 is murdered by the Amakwabi, 305

* Faure, Abraham: in April 1831 is deprived of office for not quelling a disturbance, 70

Fawn, the: from 1842 to 1844 serves as a floating fort at Port Natal, 377

* Fingos: differ in disposition from Xosas, 110; in 1835 are found living in a miserable condition among the Galekas, individuals among them being often subject to oppressive treatment, though they are not slaves, 110; some of them are taken under British protection, 110; these are attacked by the Galekas, but are not destroyed, as Hintsa is compelled by Sir Benjamin D'Urban to recall his warriors, 113; they are removed to a block of land between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 113; in 1837 a location in the Zitzikama is given to some of them, 156; in August of the same year those around Fort Peddie are attacked by Kaffirs and pillaged, 157; they give Sir George Napier a good deal of trouble, 177; see Jama, Jokweni, Mabandla, Matomela, Umhlambiso, and Umsutu

Fodo, son of the Hlangweni chief Nombewu: after the death of his father roams about until a tract of land south of the Umzimkulu is given to him by the emigrant farmers, 358; in December 1840 he assists the emigrant farmers against Ncapayi, 359

* Form of government of the Cape Colony: from 1828 to 1834, when distinct executive and legislative councils are established, 47

Fort Adelaide (afterwards Fort Armstrong): during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is a place of refuge for the Hottentots of the Kat river, 97

Fort Beresford: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built on the upper Buffalo river, 119; in September 1836 is abandoned, 149

Fort Cox: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built on the upper Keiskama river, 119; in December 1836 is abandoned, 150

Fort Montgomery Williams: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built on the western bank of the Keiskama river, 119; in January 1837 is abandoned, 152

Fort Murray: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built on the western bank of the Buffalo river, 119; in September 1836 is abandoned, 149

Fort Napier: in 1843 is built at Maritzburg, 390

Fort Peddie: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built in the centre of the ground allotted to Fingos between the Fish river and the Keiskama, 120; upon the abandonment of the territory east of the Fish river a garrison is retained in this fort for the defence of the Fingos, 152

Fort Thomson: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built near the junction of the Gaga and Tyumie rivers, 119; in March 1837 is abandoned, 68

Fort Warden: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built near the Kei river, 119; in September 1836 is abandoned, 149

Fort Waterloo: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built near the Nahoon river, 119; in October 1836 is abandoned, 149

Fort Wellington: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built near the source of the Gonubie river, 119; in September 1836 is abandoned, 149

Fort White: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built on the Debe river, 119; in December 1836 is abandoned, 150

* Fort Willshire: on the outbreak of war in December 1834 is abandoned by its feeble garrison, 92; at the end of January 1835 is reoccupied, 100; but in March 1837 is finally abandoned, 152

Fourie, David Stephanus: in 1839 purchases a tract of land containing the present principal diamond mines from the Korana captain David Danser, 434

Francis Speight, the: on the 7th of January 1846 is wrecked in Table Bay, 253

French Hoek, Dutch reformed church at: in May 1845 the first consistory commences duty, 248

Frontier Commercial and Agricultural bank: in 1847 is established in Grahamstown, 243

Fynn, Henry Francis: in April 1824 settles at Natal, 297; in July visits Tshaka, 298; whose favour he secures by skilful surgical treatment, 298; he collects a number of blacks together, and with Tshaka's consent becomes their chief, 300; receives from Tshaka a grant of a large tract of land, 301; early in 1831 flees from Natal to Buntingville, being in fear of Dingan, 306; but in August returns, 306; in September 1834 leaves Natal and moves to the Cape Colony, 307; a few months later guides a party of volunteers to Wesleyville to rescue some refugees, 99; in March 1835 is sent by Sir Benjamin D'Urban on a mission to Faku, chief of the Pondos, 103; in December 1836 is appointed British agent with Mapasa, 153

Fynn, William Macdowell: in 1828 joins his brother in Natal, 302; early in 1831, being apprehensive of danger from Dingan, retires from Natal to Buntingville, 306; but in August returns, 306; in September 1834 removes to the Cape Colony, 307; in January 1836 acts as interpreter to the expedition under Captain P. Delancey, 132; in December of this year is appointed British agent with Kreli, 153; in November 1844 is sent to Pondoland to obtain the signature of the chief Faku to a treaty, 395

* Gaika: in January 1824 the colonial government reverses its policy and treats with Gaika's enemies as independent chiefs, 5; on the 13th of November 1829 Gaika dies near Burnshill, on the Keiskama, 51

Galekas: in December 1834 assist the Rarabes to invade the Cape Colony, 90

Gardiner, Captain Allen F.: in January 1835 arrives in Natal as a missionary, 308; on the 6th of May on behalf of the Europeans at Port Natal enters into a treaty with Dingan, 310; in accordance

with which he shortly afterwards surrenders four fugitives to the Zulu chief, by whose orders they are starved to death, 310; he is now permitted to establish two mission stations, 310; and therefore returns to England to procure men to occupy them, 310; in June 1837 arrives in Natal again with the reverend Mr. Owen, 311; and takes up his residence at the station which on his former visit he had named Berea, 311; attempts to act as a magistrate under the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill, but is repudiated by the Europeans in Natal, 311; in May 1838 leaves the country, 326

* Garrison of the Cape Colony:—

72nd regiment, in February 1822 the first battalion leaves, 85; in October 1828 it arrives again, 85; in April 1840 leaves for England, 188

38th regiment: in March 1822 leaves, 85

54th regiment: in March 1822 leaves, 85

6th regiment: in November 1821 arrives, 85; in March 1825 leaves, 85

49th regiment: in March 1822 arrives, 85; in October 1828 leaves, 85

55th regiment: in March 1822 arrives, 85; in September 1830 leaves, 85

98th regiment: in August 1824 arrives, 85; in April 1837 leaves for England, 175

75th regiment: in August 1830 arrives, 85; in June 1843 the skeleton leaves for England, more than half the men having taken their discharge in South Africa, 189

27th regiment: in August 1835 arrives from Cork, 124

91st regiment: in April 1839 a wing of the first battalion arrives, 178; in April 1842 the remainder of the first battalion arrives from St. Helena, 188; in August 1842 the second battalion arrives from England, 188

25th regiment: in April 1840 arrives, 188; in April 1842 leaves for India, 188

12th regiment: in February 1843 the reserve battalion on its way to Mauritius is detained, and remains three months at the Cape, 188

45th regiment: in May 1843 the first battalion arrives from Cork, 188

7th dragoon guards: in June 1843 arrive from England, 189

Gasela, Xosa captain: takes part against the colony in the sixth Kaffir war, but on the 17th of September 1835 agrees to become a British subject, 125; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 150; on the 31st of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 188; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 259; in March 1845 dies, and is succeeded by his son Toyise, 264

Gaslight: in 1846 is first used in Capetown, 245
Gentoo, the: on the 29th of April 1846 is wrecked near Cape Agulhas, 244
* George, district of: in 1834 for fiscal purposes is reduced to the rank of a sub-district, 44; in August 1836 is again provided with its own civil commissioner, 166
Gilfillan, William: in February 1837 is appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the new district of Cradock, 165
Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E.: on the 23rd of December 1845 becomes secretary of state for the colonies, 239
* Glasgow missionary society: particulars concerning, 10 and 51
Glenelg, Lord: in April 1835 becomes secretary of state for the colonies in Viscount Melville's cabinet, 141; is in full sympathy with the party represented in South Africa by the reverend Dr. Philip, 142; on the 26th of December 1835 writes a despatch justifying the Kaffirs for making war upon the Cape Colony, and announcing that Sir Benjamin D'Urban's arrangements with regard to the province of Queen Adelaide must be reversed, 142; sends out Captain Stockenstrom as lieutenant-governor with instructions to undo all that Sir Benjamin D'Urban has done, 144; is the author of the act usually known as the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill, 148; orders all the land east of the Fish and Kat rivers, except the Fingo locations, to be given to the Kaffirs, 151; dismisses Sir Benjamin D'Urban from office as governor of the Cape Colony, 171; after causing unbounded discontent and inflicting severe losses upon the Cape Colony, on the 8th of February 1839 he is forced by his colleagues to resign as secretary of state, 181; on the 23rd of April 1866 dies at Cannes. He was unmarried, and the title is extinct
* Goderich, Lord: in April 1833 retires from office as secretary of state for the colonies, 28
Gold: in 1836 is seen in the form of rings of native manufacture in possession of Bantu at the Zoutpansberg, 276
* Gontse, Barolong captain: in 1841 moves from Thaba Ntshu over the Vaal, and has a tract of land assigned to him by Commandant Potgieter, upon which he lives as a favoured subject of the emigrant farmers, 404; subsequently wanders from one place to another until his death, when he is succeeded by Masisi, 405
* Government bank: on the 31st of December 1842 is closed, 203
* Grahamstown: in 1834 contains six hundred houses, 83; further particulars concerning, 83; during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 presents a scene of great misery, 93
Grahamstown Journal: on the 30th of December 1831 is first issued, and is still published, 16; note upon, 156
Green, Benjamin: with Dr. Cowie in 1829 travels from the Cape Colony by way of Natal to Delagoa Bay, and perishes of fever when trying to return, 305

Griffith, Lieutenant Charles: is one of the early breeders of merino sheep in the district of Albany, 40

Griffith, right reverend Patrick Raymond, first bishop of the Roman catholic church in the Cape Colony: on the 14th of April 1838 arrives in Capetown from Europe, 225

* Griquas: history of the people so called, 408; see Barends, Davids, Kok, and Waterboer

Griquatown: in 1803 is founded as a mission station, 408; in 1813 receives its present name from the reverend John Campbell, 411

Groepe, Fieldcornet Christiaan: at the commencement of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 takes command of the half-breeds of the Kat river who rally to the support of the government, 97; and performs excellent service against the enemy, 101

Grout, Rev. Aldin, American missionary: in February 1836 assists to found the first mission station in Natal, 310; in April 1838 leaves Natal on account of disturbances caused by the Zulus, 326; in June 1840 returns and resumes mission work, 348

Guano: particulars concerning the discovery of a vast quantity of guano on some small islands off the coast of Great Namaqualand, and its removal, 234

Guano islands off the coast of Great Namaqualand: on the 5th of May 1866 are taken possession of for Great Britain, 236; and on the 16th of July in the same year are annexed to the Cape Colony, 236; see Ichaboe

Gwalana post: is formed by Sir Lowry Cole to overawe the Gunukwebes, and in March 1830 troops are stationed there, 12; at the beginning of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is abandoned, and is never again occupied, 92

Ham, Rev. Pieter Nicolaas: is sent out by a society in Holland to minister to the emigrant farmers in Natal, but on his arrival there on the 8th of May 1843 is not permitted by the English authorities to land, 383; proceeds to Delagoa Bay, where his wife dies, 383; in 1844 leaves Lourenço Marques and proceeds to Capetown, 394; early in 1845 becomes the first resident clergyman of French Hoek, 249

Harbour improvements in Table Bay: particulars concerning, 199

Harbour works at Algoa Bay: particulars concerning, 200

Harbour works at Port Frances: particulars concerning, 200

Harding, Walter: on the 13th of November 1845 is appointed crown prosecutor of Natal, 400

Hard road over the Cape flats; between July 1844 and September 1846 is opened for use in sections, 244

Hare, Lieutenant-Colonel John, of the 27th regiment: on the 9th of August 1838 becomes acting lieutenant-governor of the eastern province, 180; in September 1839 is confirmed in the appointment, 184

Harris, Captain Cornwallis : in 1836 visits the Matabele chief Mosełekatse and hunts along the Limpopo river, 276

Harvey, William Henry : on the 18th of October 1836 becomes treasurer-general of the Cape Colony, 215 ; is author of three volumes of the *Flora Capensis*, 215 ; on the 7th of December 1841 leaves for Europe suffering from aberration of mind, 215

* Heads of the Cape government : succession of,
Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, governor, 9th September 1828 to 10th August 1833 ;
Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Francis Wade, acting governor, 10th August 1833 to 16th January 1834 ;
Sir Benjamin D'Urban, governor, 16th January 1834 to 22nd January 1838 ;
Sir George Thomas Napier, governor, 22nd January 1838 to 18th March 1844 ;
Sir Peregrine Maitland, governor, 18th March 1844 to 27th January 1847

Hebron mission station : in 1847 is founded south of the Lesuto by the French evangelical society, 440

van den Heever, Lukas : in 1844 is one o the leaders of the emigrant farmers in the district of Philippolis who are favourable to British rule, 425

Henderson, Lieutenant-Colonel : endeavours to introduce Angora goats into the Cape Colony, 42

Hermon mission station : in 1847 is founded in the Lesuto by the French evangelical society, 440

Herschel, Sir John : in January 1834 arrives in South Africa, 29 ; takes a very warm interest in matters relating to education, 210 ; at the request of Sir George Napier draws up a plan for the improvement of the public schools, 210 ; in March 1838 returns to Europe, 212 ; at the governor's request selects teachers for the most important public schools, 212

Herschel system of schools : in 1839 is commenced in the Cape Colony, 211

Hill, Captain John Montgomery : in January 1839 becomes the first resident magistrate of Malmesbury, 228

* Hintsa, paramount chief of the Xosa tribe : at the commencement of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 professes to be neutral, but really takes an active part against the colony, 108 ; is a very poor specimen of a Xosa, 109 ; in February and again in March 1835 is called upon by Sir Benjamin D'Urban to cease aiding the Rarabe clans, but does not comply with the demand, 103 ; after the entrance of an army into his country declines to give satisfaction for his hostile conduct, 111 ; but after losing a large number of cattle, on the 29th of April comes to the British camp to ask for peace, and there on the following day agrees to the governor's terms, 112 ; remains in

the camp as a hostage for the fulfilment of the conditions of peace, 112; as the cattle which he agreed to surrender are not brought in by his people he proposes to go with a patrol of the British forces to collect them, 115; this offer being accepted, the patrol sets out, when he attempts to make his escape, and is killed in doing so, 115; is succeeded in the chieftainship by his son Kreli, 117

Hlangweni tribe: see Fodo and Nombewu

Holstead, Thomas: in 1824 accompanies Mr. Farewell to Natal, 298; in October 1830 is sent by Dingan with a present of ivory to the governor of the Cape Colony, but is not allowed to proceed farther than Grahamstown, and the present is declined, 305; returns to Natal, 306; in November 1837 accompanies Pieter Retief to Umkungunhlovu as an interpreter, 314; three months later again proceeds to Umkungunhlovu as interpreter to Pieter Retief, 316; and there on the 6th of January 1838 is murdered with the others of the party, 317

Hope, the, the first steamer employed on the South African coast: on the 8th of December 1838 arrives from England, 226; on the 11th of March 1840 is wrecked near Cape St. Francis, 226

* Horses: value of horses exported from 1826 to 1835, 43

Hostile feeling of the Xosas towards the Cape Colony in 1834: causes of, 56

* Hottentot regiment: in December 1827 the infantry is disbanded, and the regiment is thereafter termed the Cape mounted riflemen, 85; until June 1828 it is regarded as a colonial force and is a charge upon the colonial treasury, but after this date it is paid by the imperial government, 25; in 1837 it is raised to four hundred and sixty-two horsemen, and three hundred footmen are attached to the corps, 72; on the 19th of February 1838 a number of the men mutiny, 175; in June 1839 the regiment is reduced to four hundred and eighty rank and file, 178

Hottentot settlement at the Kat river: particulars concerning the formation and progress of, 9; at the commencement of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 the people are in a very discontented condition owing to injudicious teaching, and are suspected of an intention to join the Xosas, 96; but under the management of Captain Armstrong are led to commit themselves on the colonial side, 97; during the war it is necessary to maintain them and their families at the public expense, 98

* Hudson, Hougham: at the close of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is appointed agent-general for the province of Queen Adelaide and resident magistrate of Grahamstown, 129; in September 1836 becomes secretary to the lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts, 152

Hume, David: in 1835 explores the country along the Limpopo river, 275

Ichaboe island: description of, 235; on the 21st of June 1861 is taken possession of for Great Britain, and on the 16th of July 1866 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 236

* Immigrants from Europe: between the years 1823 and 1833 very few arrive in South Africa, 193; between 1833 and 1839 seven hundred and fifty destitute English children arrive, 76; particulars of a plan adopted in 1844 under which over four thousand individuals of British birth are added to the population of the Cape Colony, 238; see Christophers and Juvenile Immigrants

* Immigrants of coloured blood: during the whole of this period, and particularly during the government of Sir George Napier, many negroes rescued from slave ships by British cruisers are brought into the Cape Colony, 197

* Imports: from 1806 to 1835, particulars concerning, 36; from 1835 to 1850, particulars concerning, 207

Imports of Natal in 1845: value of, 400

* Innes, James Rose, M.A., LL.D.: on the 11th of May 1839 is appointed first superintendent-general of education in the Cape Colony, 211; in May 1840 proceeds to Scotland to procure teachers, and in March 1841 returns with several, 212; manages to thwart an attempt to wreck the new system of education, 213

Isaacs, Nathaniel: in October 1825 becomes a resident at Port Natal, 300; is severely wounded while accompanying a Zulu military expedition, 300; in December 1828 leaves Natal, but in April 1830 returns, 304; early in 1831 finally leaves Natal, 306

Jacob, a Kaffir: has been a convict on Robben Island, and is sent by the Cape government as an interpreter to Captain Owen in the surveying ship *Leven*, 296; in July 1823 is transferred by Captain Owen to Mr. Farewell, who is proceeding along the coast on a trading expedition, 296; runs away at St. Lucia Bay, and becomes a favourite of Tshaka, 298; in October 1830 is sent by Dingan with a present of ivory to the governor of the Cape Colony, but is not allowed to proceed farther than Grahamstown, and the present is declined, 305; returns to Natal, 306; in 1831 by Dingan's order is put to death, 307

Jacobs, Willem: in October 1847 is elected landdrost of Winburg by the emigrant farmers who are opposed to the British government, 444

Jacobs, Pieter: in 1837 is leader of a large party of emigrants from the Cape Colony, 291

Jalusa, Xosa captain: towards the close of 1835 with a band of turbulent characters moves to the neighbourhood of Thaba Bosigo, where he leads the life of a robber, but in September 1836 the band is almost entirely destroyed by the Basuto, 282

Jama, chief of a remnant of the Amakuze tribe: in April 1835 at Butterworth solicits Sir Benjamin D'Urban to give him protection

against the Xosas, 110; his request is complied with, and he has land assigned to him between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 113

Jenkins, Mrs., wife of the reverend Thomas Jenkins: in 1838 goes to reside in Pondoland, and gives a description of the Pondo tribe at that time, 355

Jervis, Captain Henry: in January 1839 is left in command of the troops at Port Natal, 336; attempts to bring about peace between the emigrant farmers and the Zulus, 336; on the 24th of December 1839 when the British troops are withdrawn he leaves Natal, 340

Jokweni, chief of a remnant of the Amazizi tribe: in April 1835 at Butterworth solicits Sir Benjamin D'Urban to give him protection against the Xosas, 110; his request is complied with, and he has land assigned to him between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 113; in December 1836 as an independent chief enters into a treaty with the British government, 152; on the 29th of December 1840 consents to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 187; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 295

Joubert, Gideon: in May 1838 visits the emigrant camp in Natal as a commissioner of the Cape government, 327; in November 1838 visits Natal again in the same capacity, 329; in July and August 1845 is sent by Sir Peregrine Maitland on a tour of investigation through the territory between the Orange and Vaal rivers, 433

Jurymen: qualifications of under the ordinance of May 1831, 45

Juvenile immigrants: in 1839 cease to be sent to South Africa, owing to the collapse of the Children's Friend Society, 193

Kaffir police: in 1835 after the close of the sixth Kaffir war a small body is enrolled to serve in the province of Queen Adelaide, 130; the men are employed by Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom in the colony, where they are worse than useless, 156

Kaffir servants: by an ordinance in July 1828 Kaffirs are permitted to enter the Cape Colony to seek service, but in consequence of this liberty leading to extensive stockstealing, in August 1829 the ordinance is suspended, 11

Kama, Gunukwebe captain and a professed Christian: in the war of 1834-5 acts as a neutral, 98; on the 17th of September 1835 agrees to become a British subject, 126; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 150; on the 19th of June 1838 enters into a closer treaty of alliance framed by Sir George Napier, 176; on the 29th of December 1840 agrees to certain important modifications in these treaties, 187; in June 1843 moves to the vicinity of the Lesuto, 191

* Kat River: description of, 9; formation of a Hottentot settlement at, 10; census of December 1833 of, 11

Kay, Rev. Stephen, of the Wesleyan society: in August 1825 founds the mission station Mount Coke, 6

Kayser, Rev. Frederick, of the London society: upon the conclusion of peace in 1835 reëstablishes the mission station Knappshope on the Keiskama river, 131

Kekewich, Judge: on the 12th of October 1843 retires on a pension, 215

Kitchener, Rev. J. J.: on the 1st of April 1821 dies, 220

King, James Saunders: in 1823 visits Natal as master of a vessel, 296; proceeds to England and applies to Earl Bathurst for countenance in opening a trading establishment at Port Natal, 299; receives a letter of recommendation to Lord Charles Somerset, 299; returns to South Africa, and on the 1st of October 1825 reaches Natal, but loses his vessel in attempting to cross the bar, 300; in April 1828 leaves Natal with two of Tshaka's indunas as an embassy to the Cape government, but is obliged to return as he came, the government declining to receive him as Tshaka's representative, 301; in September 1828 dies at Natal, 302

King, Richard: in May 1842 rides express from Durban to Grahamstown to seek assistance for the British troops beleaguered there, 370

King-Williamstown: on the 24th of May 1835 is founded on the eastern bank of the Buffalo river, 119; but in December 1836 is abandoned, 150

Kobe, Gunukwebe captain: during the war of 1834-5 of his own free will goes to Grahamstown as a hostage for the good conduct of his brothers, 99; on the 17th of September 1835 agrees to become a British subject, 126; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 150; on the 19th of June 1838 enters into a closer treaty of alliance framed by Sir George Napier, 176; on the 29th of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications in these treaties, 187; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 259

Kock, Commandant Jan: is one of the leaders of the emigrant farmers in the district of Philippolis who are opposed to British rule, 424; in July 1843 strives to prevent the volksraad of Natal coming to an arrangement with Commissioner Cloete concerning the government of the country as a British colony, 387; but fails in his object, 388; on the 2nd of May 1845 takes part in the skirmish at Zwartkopjes against British troops and Griquas, 428; after the defeat flees to Winburg, 429; in June 1846 is driven from Winburg by Major Warden, 438

Kok, Abraham, eldest son of Adam Kok II: in 1835 upon the death of his father is elected captain of Philippolis, and in February 1837 through the efforts of the missionaries enters into close alliance with Andries Waterboer, 414; in September of the same year is driven

from Philippolis by his younger brother Adam, 415 ; carries on hostilities with his brother until the beginning of 1841, when he is finally deposed

Kok, Adam I, a half-breed : is allowed by the Dutch East India Company to collect together a band of Hottentots and people of mixed blood, and to become a captain in Little Namaqualand, 409

Kok, Adam II, eldest son of the first Cornelis : early in the nineteenth century moves from Little Namaqualand to Griquatown with a few followers, 409 ; in 1820 moves away from Griquatown, and sets up an independent government at Campbell, 412 ; in May 1824 resigns, and is succeeded as captain of Campbell by his brother Cornelis Kok II, 412 ; for a time leads a wandering life, but eventually is joined by a number of rovers who elect him to be their captain, 412 ; at the invitation of the reverend Dr. Philip in 1826 settles with these people at Philippolis, 413 ; in 1835 visits Capetown, and when returning home in September of that year dies at the Berg river, 414

Kok, Adam III, younger son of Adam Kok II : conspires against his elder brother Abraham, and in September 1837 by the influence of the missionaries is elected captain of Philippolis, 415 ; carries on hostilities with his brother until the beginning of 1841, when his success is complete, 415 ; in November 1838 enters into a treaty with Andries Waterboer, in which they divide on paper an immense region between them, 415 ; in October 1842 applies for British protection against the emigrant farmers, 417 ; on the 29th of November 1843 enters into treaty alliance with the British government, 419 ; early in 1844 gives the emigrant farmers great provocation, 423 ; in January 1845 requests Sir Peregrine Maitland to establish a military post at Philippolis for his protection, 425 ; and receives a reply which prompts him to irritate the farmers into hostilities, 426 ; he attempts to have a farmer arrested, when his messengers commit acts of great violence, 426 ; thereupon the burghers take up arms, and the Griquas do the same, 426 ; some skirmishing follows, 426 ; the Griquas are supplied with muskets and ammunition by the civil commissioner of Colesberg, and two hundred soldiers are sent to occupy Philippolis, 427 ; as the leaders of the emigrant farmers decline the terms proposed by the civil commissioner of Colesberg, a strong military force is sent to assist the Griquas, 428 ; on the 2nd of May 1845 the emigrant farmers are completely routed at Zwartkopjes, 428 ; and their camp at Touwfontein is seized, 429 ; the farmers who are opposed to British authority then retire to Winburg, and those who are well-affected come to the British camp and take the oath of allegiance to the queen, 429 ; at the close of June Sir Peregrine Maitland arrives at Touwfontein, where Kok has a conference with him, 430 ; and makes most extravagant pretensions as to his authority over residents

in the territory, 430; subsequently, however, he moderates his tone and agrees to proposals of the governor, which are embodied in a treaty signed by both parties in the following February, 431

* Kok, Cornelis I, son of the first Adam Kok: with a band of half-breeds follows his sons from Little Namaqualand to Griquatown, 409

Kok, Cornelis II, second son of the first Cornelis: early in the nineteenth century moves from Little Namaqualand to Griquatown with a few followers, 409; in May 1824 is elected captain of the Griquas at Campbell, 412; from September 1837 to the beginning of 1841 assists Abraham Kok against his younger brother Adam in the struggle for the captaincy of Philippolis, 415

Koonap river: in 1830 farms are given out between this stream and the Kat under tenure of military occupation, 13

Korsten, Frederick: is the first breeder of Angora goats in the Cape Colony, 41

Kramer, Rev. Mr.: is one of the early missionaries to the Griquas, 408

Kreli, son of Hintsa: during the war of 1834-5 is left by his father in the British camp as a hostage for the fulfilment of terms of peace, 115; upon the death of his father becomes paramount chief of the Xosa tribe, and on the 19th of May 1835 concludes peace with Sir Benjamin D'Urban, 117; under the terms of which he gives up over three thousand head of cattle, and on the 11th of December cedes a slip of territory to the British government, 133; the land, however, is restored to him by order of the secretary of state for the colonies, 150; in November 1844 he enters into a treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, 257

Krige, Rev. W. A.: in October 1844 becomes the first resident clergyman of Victoria West, 248

Kruisvallei congregation: in 1843 is formed at Tulbagh in the Cape Colony, 220

Kurukuru streamlet: is made by Colonel Wade the boundary of Kaffirland, 55

Kuys, Rev. A. G. M.: in September 1852 becomes the first resident clergyman of Napier, 219

Labour tax imposed by the emigrant farmers upon some of their Bantu subjects: description of, 404

Laing, Rev. James: in 1831 arrives in South Africa as an agent of the Glasgow society, and goes to reside at Burnshill on the Keiskama, 16; when leaving Kaffirland during the war of 1834-5 is accompanied to Grahamstown by Matwa and Tente, two sons of Gaika, 100; at the close of the war returns to Burnshill, 131

Landman, Carel Pieter: in April 1838 arrives in Natal as leader of a party of emigrants from the Cape Colony, 327; immediately afterwards is sent by the volksraad to the port as a commissioner to

arrange matters, 328; in July of the same year becomes the head of all the emigrants in Natal, 329

Land tenure: in 1830 the system of holding land under military tenure is introduced by Sir Lowry Cole, 13; after May 1832 crownlands are not otherwise disposed of than by sale at public auction, 13

de Lange, Jan: in July 1844 is killed in the district of Albany by Kaffir robbers, 256

Laws relating to commerce and customs regulations from 1806 to 1835: particulars concerning, 33

Legislative council: particulars concerning the creation in 1833 and the establishment in 1834 of a, 47; in 1836 unanimously approves of the measures adopted by Sir Benjamin D'Urban with regard to the Kaffirs, 146; under Sir George Napier's commission some important changes in its constitution are made, 214; it has no claim to be regarded as representing the colonists, 239; after 1844 holds regular yearly sessions, 239; in 1846 is enlarged by the admission of the senior military officer in the garrison of Capetown, 240

Legislative council: succession of unofficial members of,

Pieter Laurens Cloete, 25th February 1834, 48

John Bardwell Ebden, 25th February 1834, 48

Michiel van Breda, 25th February 1834, 48; died 12th August 1847, 240

Charles Stuart Pillans, 25th February 1834, 48

Jacobus Johannes du Toit, 25th February 1834, 48

Henry Cloete, succeeds P. L. Cloete, 215

Hamilton Ross, succeeds C. S. Pillans, 215

Advocate Henry Cloete, succeeds J. J. du Toit, 215

Thomas Butterworth Charles Bayley, 10th December 1845 succeeds Advocate Henry Cloete, 239

William Cock, 26th October 1847 succeeds T. B. C. Bayley, 240

Pieter Voltelen van der Byl, 11th September 1847 succeeds M. van Breda, 240

*Leper asylum: in 1846 is removed from Hemel en Aarde to Robben Island, 245

Levant, the, American trading brig: in August 1841 discharges cargo at Port Natal, 362

Lighthouse on Mouille Point: on the 1st of July 1842 the light is first exhibited, 199

Lightship in Simon's Bay: on the 10th of January 1845 first displays a light, 243

Lighthouse on Cape Agulhas: on the 1st of March 1849 the light is first exhibited, 244

Lighthouse on Cape Recife: on the 1st of April 1851 the light is first exhibited, 244

Linde, Commandant Jacobus: though seventy-five years old takes a very active part in the Kaffir war of 1834-5, 107

Lindley, Rev. Daniel, American missionary: in June 1836 with two associates goes to reside with the Matabele in the valley of Mosega, 287; in January 1837 leaves that station with the emigrant farmers who have defeated the Matabele, 288; in July of the same year arrives in Natal and commences to labour there, 310; in May 1838 leaves Natal in consequence of the Zulu disturbances, 326; in June 1839 returns to Natal and becomes resident clergyman of the Dutch church at Maritzburg and consulent of churches at Weenen, Durban, Winburg, and Potchefstroom

Lise, the, French ship: on the 9th of March 1840 is wrecked on Cape Agulhas, 244

Lombard, H. S.: in December 1840 commands a burgher force sent from Natal against the Bacas of Ncapayi, 359

* London missionary society: in 1837 is outlawed by the first constitution of the emigrant farmers, 290; particulars concerning, 10, 51, 57, 58, 59, 81, 82, and 209

Longmore, Major George: in January 1830 becomes the first resident magistrate of Wynberg, 228

de Lorentz, the baron Charles: in 1834 becomes police magistrate of Capetown, 45

Lourenço Marques: in 1829 fever rages here so severely that of forty European residents thirty-four die, 305

* Lovedale mission station: is named after Dr. Love, one of the founders of the Glasgow missionary society, 131; during the war of 1834-5 is of necessity abandoned, 111; after the war is reëstablished by Mr. John Bennie near the junction of the Gaga and the Tyumie, 131

Lydenburg, village of: in 1846 is founded, 442

Mabandla, chief of a remnant of the Amabele tribe: in April 1835 at Butterworth solicits Sir Benjamin D'Urban to give him protection against the Xosas, 110; his request is complied with, and he has land assigned to him between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 113; on the 2nd of January 1845 he enters into a treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, 259

Maclean, Captain John: in November 1845 succeeds Mr. Theophilus Shepstone as diplomatic agent at Fort Peddie, 261

Maitland, Sir Peregrine: is a military officer of distinction, 233; on the 19th of December 1843 receives a commission as governor of the Cape Colony, and on the 18th of March 1844 takes the oaths of office in Capetown, 232; in the following September proceeds to the eastern frontier, 256; and makes new treaty arrangements with the various chiefs and captains of the Xosa and Tembu tribes, 257; on the 7th of October enters into a treaty with the Pondo chief Faku, 395; in June 1845 visits the country north of the Orange river, 430; holds conferences with various chiefs and captains, and endeavours to settle the disturbances of the country, 430; but is

able to make positive arrangements with Adam Kok only, 431; defers further proceedings until he can obtain a report from a special commissioner whom he sends on a tour of investigation, 433; when it is found that no peaceable settlement can be made without violating the Napier treaty with Moshesh, 435

Makaula, son of Ncapayi: in July 1845 succeeds his father as chief of the Bacas, 397

* Makoma: in November 1824 is compelled to make good the thefts of cattle by his people, 1; in January 1829 he quarrels with the Tembu captain Mtyalela, whom he drives into the colony, and whose cattle he seizes on the Tarka, 8; in consequence of which in May he is expelled from the Kat river and forced to retire over the Tyumie, 8; on his father's death in November 1829 he is appointed regent during the minority of Sandile, the recognised heir in the great line, 51; in 1832 Colonel Somerset gives him leave to return to the western bank of the Tyumie, 55; but owing to depredations by his people, in November 1833 he is again required to leave the ceded territory, 55; in December 1834 sends his followers to invade and lay waste the frontier districts of the Cape Colony, 90; continues the strife until the 17th of September 1835, when he consents to terms of peace and agrees to become a British subject, 125; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 150; on the 2nd of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 187; on the 21st of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 259; leads a very miserable life, even for a barbarian, 264; at the beginning of 1846 is indisposed to join the war party in Kaffirland, 264

* Makwana, chief of the Bataung tribe: early in 1836 sells nearly the whole territory between the Vet and Vaal rivers to the emigrant farmers under Commandant Potgieter, 275

Malmesbury, district of: in January 1839 is created, 227

Malmesbury, village of: in November 1828 is founded, 22

* von Manger, Rev. J. H.: for many years is president of the bible and school commission, 208; on the 2nd of May 1842 dies

Manner of living in the Cape Colony before the middle of the nineteenth century, 250

Mapasa, son of Bawana, Tembu captain: in 1835 is virtually independent of the regent of the tribe, 105; during the Kaffir war of that year professes to be friendly, but allows his people to make plundering raids into the colony, 107; in October 1835 consents to become a British subject, 132; but is released from his allegiance on the 18th of January 1837, and as an independent chief concludes a treaty with Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, 153; on account of the constant robberies committed by his people, in April 1838 a military

force is sent against him and exacts compensation, 184: on the 28th of January 1841 he agrees to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 188; on the 25th of March 1845 he enters into a new treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, 260

Maritz, Gerrit: is leader of the third party of emigrants from the Cape Colony, 281; in October 1836 reaches Thaba Ntshu, where he learns of the losses sustained by Potgieter's party from the Matabele, 281; on the 2nd of December is elected landdrost of the emigrant farmers, 283; assists Commandant Hendrik Potgieter to punish the Matabele, 285; quarrels with Potgieter, 286; on the 6th of June 1837 is elected president of the second volksraad, 290; after Pieter Retief's death in February 1838 becomes head of the emigrants in Natal, 322; remains in charge of the lagers in Natal while Potgieter and Uys proceed against Dingan, 322; in October 1838 dies, 329

Maritzburg, town of: in March 1839 is founded, 336

Mary, the, English brig: on the 1st of October 1825 is wrecked while trying to cross the bar at Port Natal, 300

Masisi, successor to the Barolong captain Gontse: in 1871 dies at Taung, and is succeeded by Moshete, 405

Massey, Captain the honourable John: in November 1824 conducts an expedition against Makoma, 1

*Matabele: in August 1836 a band of Matabele soldiers attacks a European hunting party north of the Vaal river, and kills all of its members except four, 278; afterwards attacks a lager of emigrant farmers, but is beaten off with heavy loss, 279; at another encampment commits a dreadful massacre, and then proceeds to Mosega with large herds of the emigrants' cattle and three captive children, 279; in October a strong Matabele army attacks Commandant Potgieter's camp at Vechtkop, 280; it is defeated, but secures all the cattle belonging to the people in the camp, 281; on the 17th of January 1837 the military kraals at Mosega are attacked by the emigrant farmers, 287; and the soldiers there are defeated with considerable loss, 288; in the winter of 1837 the Matabele sustain a defeat from a Zulu army sent against them by Dingan, 292; in November of this year they are attacked on the Marikwa by the emigrant farmers under Potgieter and Uys, and suffer such loss that they flee beyond the Limpopo, 293; see Moselekatse

Matlabe, Barolong captain: in January 1837 acts as guide to the emigrant farmers in an expedition against the Matabele, 286; in November 1837 again renders assistance to the emigrant farmers against the Matabele, 293; in 1841 moves from Thaba Ntshu over the Vaal, and has a tract of land assigned to him by Commandant Potgieter, upon which he lives as a favoured subject of the emigrant farmers, 404; in 1846 assists the farmers against the Bapedi, 443

Matomela, chief of a remnant of the Amareledwane tribe: in April 1835 at Butterworth solicits Sir Benjamin D'Urban to give him protection against the Xosas, 110; his request is complied with, and he has land assigned to him between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 113; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, 259

Matrimonial court: in 1839 is abolished, 228

Matwa, inferior son of Gaika: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 professes friendship to the Cape Colony, 111; in 1837 attacks the Fingos along the Gaga and drives them away, 156

Mawa, widow of Senzangakona: early in 1843 flees from Zululand into Natal with a great horde of adherents, 384

Measles: in 1839 destroys many lives in the Cape Colony, 192

* Meintjes, J. J.: in 1834 in consequence of retrenchment is reduced to assistant civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Beaufort, 44

* Menzies, Mr. Justice: on the 22nd of October 1842 at Alleman's drift proclaims an immense tract of land north of the Orange river British territory, but his proclamation is repudiated by Sir George Napier, 418

Metropolitan hall in Burg-street, Capetown: in February 1831 is opened for public worship by the Wesleyans, 17

Meyer, Gerrit Hendrik: in August 1847 is elected landdrost of Winburg by some emigrant farmers who are well affected towards the British government, but in October he is deposed by the opponents of that party, 444

* Michell, Major: plans the road over the Hottentots-Holland mountains, 24; is the first to conceive the design of massing convict labour upon mountain passes in the Cape Colony, 230

Mocke, Commandant Jan: is the head of an independent party of emigrant farmers west of the Drakensberg, 386; in June 1842 assists in the siege of the English camp at Durban, 372; in October 1842 at Alleman's drift on the Orange makes an armed display before Mr. Justice Menzies, 418; in July 1843 strives to prevent the volksraad of Natal coming to an arrangement with Commissioner Cloete concerning the government of the country as a British colony, but is obliged to return over the Drakensberg disappointed, 387; on the 2nd of May 1845 takes part in the skirmish at Zwartkopjes against British troops and Griquas, 428; after his defeat flees to Winburg, 429; and a little later moves over the Vaal, 435

* Moffat, Rev. Robert: in 1829 visits Mosclekatse at a kraal about a hundred miles east of the present village of Zeerust, and acquires great influence with him, 275

* Molapo, son of the Basuto chief Moshesh: in 1845 is sent by his father to occupy the country along the Putiatsana, 437

* Molitsane, captain of a remnant of the Bataung tribe: in 1837 becomes the vassal of Moshesh, and is located at Mekuatling, 402

Montagu, John: on the 23rd of April 1843 becomes secretary to the government of the Cape Colony, 198; sets himself to the redemption of the public debt, 198; is the promoter of a system of constructing roads by means of convict labour, which was adopted in 1843, 230

Montagu, the, a little vessel of thirty tons, the first built in the eastern province: on the 28th of November 1846 is launched at Port Frances

Montagu Pass: on the 18th of January 1848 the road over this pass is opened for traffic, 245

Moodie, Lieutenant Donald: in 1836 is entrusted with the task of compiling records regarding the intercourse between the colonists and the various tribes of South Africa, 145; on the 13th of November 1845 is appointed secretary to the government of Natal, 400

Moodie *versus* Fairbairn: particulars of an action on account of a libellous article in the *Commercial Advertiser*, 160 *et seq.*

Moorrees, Rev. H. A.: on the 19th of May 1839 commences duty as first resident clergyman of Riversdale, 217; acts for a time as clergyman of Tulbagh during the suspension of the reverend Mr. Shand, 220; in August 1843 becomes first clergyman of the Kruisvallei congregation, 221

* Moravian missionary society: particulars concerning, 52, 209, and 245

Morley mission station: in May 1829 is founded in Pondoland by the Wesleyan society, 52; a few months after its formation is destroyed by the Amakwabi, but is subsequently rebuilt on the western bank of the Umtata, 353; during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 it is abandoned, 111; but early in 1836 is reoccupied, 132

Moroko, chief of the Barolong clan at Thaba Ntshu: in 1836 renders important assistance to the emigrant farmers, 282; in 1837 makes an agreement of friendship with Pieter Retief, 291; complains of the injustice done to him by the treaty of 1843 between Sir George Napier and the Basuto chief Moshesh, 421; in June 1845 has a conference with Sir Peregrine Maitland at Touwfontein, but as he will not admit the authority of Moshesh no arrangement can be made with him in furtherance of a settlement of the dispute between them, 430; in August 1845 offers a tract of land for settlement by Europeans, 435; in March 1846 agrees to submit his dispute with Moshesh to the judgment of a commission to be appointed by the governor of the Cape Colony, 437; in June of the same year assists Major Warden to disperse the adherents of Jan Kock, 438

Morosi, captain of the Baphuti clan: during the Kaffir war of 1835 professes to be neutral, but really allows his followers to plunder the Europeans, 403; on one occasion his cattle are seized in reprisal, but are restored by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, 403

Moselekatse, chief of the Matabele tribe: in 1829 is visited by the reverend Robert Moffat, of Kuruman, 275; in 1835 is visited by

Dr. Andrew Smith, leader of an exploring expedition, 284; sends with Dr. Smith a favourite induna named Nombate to Capetown, who on the 3rd of March 1836 in his name concludes a treaty of friendship with Sir Benjamin D'Urban, 285; his soldiers attack parties of emigrant farmers and massacre many of them, 279; he takes no notice of an offer of peace made by Pieter Retief, 292; in November 1837 he is defeated by the emigrant farmers on the Marikwa, and flees far north of the Limpopo, 293; see Matabele tribe

Moshesh, chief of the Basuto tribe: in 1835 during the war between the Cape Colony and the Xosas makes a raid into Kaffirland, but is beaten back by Hintsa, 105; in September 1836 destroys a strong robber band under the Xosa captain Jalusa, 282; in 1837 makes an agreement of friendship with Pieter Retief, 291; is gifted with great power of observation, 401; takes advantage of dissensions among the Europeans to increase his strength, 402; favours the reverend Dr. Philip's scheme for the formation of great native states, and on the 30th of May 1842 approves of a letter written by his missionary asking that he may be taken into treaty relationship with the Cape government, 407; on the 13th of December 1843 enters into a treaty with the British government, 419; which gives rise to numerous complications and quarrels, 421; in June 1845 has a conference with Sir Peregrine Maitland at Touwfontein, but will not renounce his claim to sovereignty over the petty chiefs along the Caledon, 430; nor withdraw his title to any part of the ground allotted to him by the Napier treaty, except a very small area on which he is willing that Europeans should reside, 433; during 1845 pushes his outposts far forward, 436; in March 1846 agrees to submit his disputes with other chiefs to the judgment of a commission to be appointed by the governor of the Cape Colony, 437; in the same year offers to assist the British forces against the Xosas and Tembus, but his proposal is civilly declined, 439; in 1847 assists Major Warden to attack some Tembus in the Wittebergen, 439; benefits greatly by the presence of the French missionaries, 441

Moshete: in 1871 succeeds Masisi as chief of the elder clan of the Barolong, 405

Mossel Bay, Dutch reformed church at: in 1844 the first consistory commences duty, 249

Mount Coke mission station: in August 1825 is founded by the Wesleyan society, 6

Moyakisani, Basuto captain: on the 26th of December 1835 consents to become a British subject, but subsequently transfers his allegiance to Moshesh, 133

Mtyalela, captain of a petty Tembu clan: in 1828 moves from the Umtata to the country north of the Winterberg, 7; quarrels with Makoma's people south of the mountain, and in January 1829 is

attacked by Makoma and driven into the colony, where his cattle are captured by his pursuers, 8

Municipalities: in September 1836 an ordinance is passed to enable towns and villages in the Cape Colony to elect municipal councils, 166

* Murray, Henry: in 1845 bequeaths a sum of money to the South African college to establish scholarships, 21; and to the orphan asylum in Capetown, 22

Murray, Rev. John: in May 1849 becomes the first resident clergyman of Burghersdorp, 247

Musgrave, Advocate William: from the 16th of March to the 16th of September 1839 acts as attorney-general of the Cape Colony, and on the 12th of October 1843 becomes second puisne judge, 215

Mutual life assurance society: in 1845 is established in Capetown, 242

Napier, Major-General Sir George Thomas: is a distinguished military officer, 173; on the 4th of November 1837 receives a commission as governor of the Cape Colony, 171; on the 20th of January 1838 arrives in Table Bay, and on the 22nd takes the oaths of office, 172; two months later leaves Capetown for the eastern frontier, 175; at this time is in full accord with the border policy of Lord Glenelg, 173; but with experience his views become greatly modified, 176; on the 19th of June he enters into a supplementary treaty with the Gunukwebe captains, 176; attempts unsuccessfully to remove the Fingos to the Zitzikama, 177; in October reaches Capetown again, 184; in November sends troops to occupy Port Natal, 334; but in December 1839 recalls them, 340; on the 6th of October 1840 again leaves Capetown to visit the eastern frontier, 186; where he obtains the consent of the Rarabe captains to various modifications of the Stockenstrom treaties, 187; in January 1841 sends a military force to the Umgazi river to protect the Pondo chief Faku, 360; on the 2nd of December 1841 issues a proclamation announcing his intention of reoccupying Port Natal, which he carries into effect by sending on the troops at the Umgazi, 363; on the 12th of May 1843 issues a proclamation that Natal is a British colony, 382; in 1843 concludes treaties of alliance with Adam Kok and Moshesh, 419; which cause great animosity in the territory north of the Orange river, 421; on the 18th of March 1844 is succeeded as governor by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 232; on the 1st of April sails for England, and on the 8th of September 1855 dies at Geneva, 232

Napier, village of: in 1838 is founded, 218

Napier, Dutch reformed church at: in February 1848 the first consistory commences duty, 219

* Natal: various geographical significations of the name, 295; in 1824 with Tshaka's consent a few Englishmen settle at the port and find that the country has been almost depopulated by the Zulu wars,

299; early in 1838 the territory is occupied by emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony, 315; who establish a republic there, 336; on the 4th of December 1838 the port is occupied by a military force sent from the Cape Colony, 335; but on the 24th of December 1839 the troops are withdrawn, 340; boundaries of the republic, 346; magisterial and ecclesiastical divisions, 346; privileges of burghers, 346; sources of revenue, 347; particulars of the civil list, 347; constitution and power of the volksraad, 348; excessive weakness of the government, 349; relation to the emigrants west of the Drakensberg, 349; the British government declines to acknowledge the independence of the republic, 351; and in 1842 the territory is taken in possession by English troops, 365; the northern boundary is defined on the 1st of October 1843 as the Buffalo and Tugela rivers, 392; the Umzimkulu river is chosen by Sir Peregrine Maitland as its south-western boundary, 395; in May 1844 the imperial authorities decide that the country is to be annexed in a loose manner to the Cape Colony, 397; on the 21st of August 1845 boundaries are defined in a proclamation by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 398; on the 22nd of November an executive council is appointed, 400; and on the 4th of December 1845 a staff of British officials arrives, and a colonial government is established, 400; imports, exports, and shipping statistics in 1845, 400

Ncapayi: with a remnant of the Baca tribe is driven from Natal by the wars of Tshaka, and takes refuge in the valley of the Umzimvubu, where he becomes a freebooter, 354; in November 1836 attacks the Tembus and takes immense herds of cattle from them, 354; early in 1838 in alliance with Faku sweeps the Tembu country of cattle, 354; in April 1840 makes war with Faku, 357; attacks the Hlangwenis under Nombewu, and kills that chief, 358; in December 1840 is attacked and defeated by a commando of emigrant farmers from Natal, 359; in July 1845 is killed in battle with the Pondos, and is succeeded as chief of the Bacas by his son Makaula, 397

Ndlambe: in January 1824 is treated by the government as an independent chief, when the former policy of supporting Gaika is entirely abandoned, 6; in February 1828 dies near Mount Coke, 50

Negroes: after the emancipation on the 1st of December 1838 lead very indolent lives in the Cape Colony, 191; in 1829 suffer very severely from measles, and in 1840 from small-pox, 192

* van der Nest, Fieldcornet Cornelis: in November 1824 assists in an expedition against Makoma, 1

Nombewu, chief of a remnant of the Hlangweni tribe: some time between 1818 and 1823 is driven southward by Tshaka, and in his flight falls upon and routs the Bacas where Maritzburg now stands, 358; with his people wanders about Kaffirland, but is at length killed by the Bacas of Ncapayi, 358

Nonesi, daughter of the Pondo chief Faku: is great wife of the Tembu chief Vusani, but has no children, consequently adopts Umtirara, the son of a wife of lower rank, 104

Nongalaza, Zulu induna: is in charge under Dingan of the district along the northern bank of the Tugela, 310; aids Panda against his brother Dingan, 341; on the 30th of January 1840 commands Panda's army in the great battle in which the power of Dingan is destroyed, 344; in 1843 is murdered by Panda's order, 345

Nonibe, great widow of Dushane: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 professes friendship to the Cape Colony on account of her son Siwani being a minor, 111

Normanby, marquess of: on the 20th of February 1839 becomes secretary of state for the colonies, 181; on the 3rd of September in the same year is succeeded by Lord John Russell, 183

Northumberland, the: on the 25th of August 1838 is wrecked near Cape Agulhas, 244

Norwegian mission: in 1843 is commenced in Zululand

Oba, clan of: particulars concerning, 4

Oberholster, Michiel: is head of a party of emigrants north of the Orange river favourable to British rule, 417; during 1844 is treated with great disfavour by the republican party, 425

Ogle, Henry: in 1824 accompanies Mr. Farewell to Natal, 298; after Mr. Farewell's death in September 1829 becomes chief of a party of blacks, 305; in April 1838 takes part in an attack upon the Zulus, 323; in 1841-2 acts as a medium of communication between the English residents at Durban and the military post on the Umgazi, 364; in June 1842 with other Englishmen is sent a prisoner to Maritzburg by Commandant-General Pretorius, 372; but on the 15th of July is released, 377; in October 1843 accompanies Commissioner Cloete to Zululand, 392

Ohrig, George Gerhard, of the firm of Klyn & Co., of Amsterdam: publishes a pamphlet termed *The Emigrants at Port Natal*, 366; sends out a vessel named the *Brazilia* to trade with the emigrant farmers at Natal, 366

Ohrigstad, village of: in 1845 is founded, but the site proves so unhealthy that it is soon abandoned by most of its inhabitants, 442; though for some time afterwards it is regarded as the seat of government of the adherents of Chief-Commandant Potgieter 443

* Oliphant, Anthony, attorney-general of the Cape Colony: is appointed chief justice of Ceylon, and on the 16th of March 1839 leaves South Africa, 215

* Orange River: description of islands in, 25

Orphan chamber for the administration of estates: in 1834 is abolished, and the duty is transferred to the master of the supreme court, 45

Owen, Rev. Mr., of the church missionary society: in June 1837 arrives in Natal, and a little later goes to reside at Umkungunhlovu, 311; in November 1837 acts as Dingan's secretary in the arrangement with Pieter Retief, 315; at Dingan's request, on the 4th of February 1838 draws up a deed of cession of Natal to the emigrant farmers, 316; on the 6th witnesses the massacre of Retief's party, 319; a few days later leaves Zululand, 319; in May 1838 abandons Natal, 326; in 1840 with Mr. Wallace Hewetson as a lay assistant endeavours to establish a mission at Mosega with the Bahurutsi, but without success, and in April 1841 he retires to the Cape Colony

Paarl, district of: in January 1839 is created, 228

Paarl, village of: on the 9th of October 1840 becomes a municipality

Palmer, Rev. Samuel, missionary at Morley: on the outbreak of the sixth Kaffir war takes refuge at Clarkebury, where in April 1835 he is rescued by a military patrol, 111; assists in the negotiations by which the war is brought to an end, 123

Panda, one of the younger sons of Senzangakona: in September 1839 conspires against his brother Dingan, 341; with a large following crosses the Tugela into Natal and requests protection from Landdrost Roos, 341; on the 15th of October has an interview with the volksraad, when a tract of land is assigned to him for temporary use, 341; on the 26th of the same month is installed as "reigning prince of the emigrant Zulus" by a commission from the volksraad, 341; receives assistance from the emigrant farmers to attack his brother, 342; in January 1840 with his adherents and a burgher commando marches against Dingan, 342; in a great battle his forces are victorious, 344; on the 10th of February 1840 he is installed by Commandant-General Pretorius chief of the Zulus, but in vassalage to the volksraad of Natal, 345; on the 25th of June 1842 he causes a mission station on the Umhlatusi river to be attacked and the whole inhabitants of three kraals to be massacred, 348; declines to assist the English force against the emigrant farmers until the latter are defeated, when he tenders his service, 375; early in 1843 puts his brother Xoxo to death, and commits such atrocities upon people whom he suspects of treasonable intentions that there is a great rush of fugitives into Natal, 384; on the 5th of October 1843 gives his consent to the Buffalo and Tugela rivers forming the north-eastern boundary of Natal, 392; on the same day cedes St. Lucia Bay to the queen of England, 393; and thereafter is treated by the British authorities as an independent chief, 393

Pato, Gunukwebe captain: in January 1824 with his brothers Kobe and Kama concludes an agreement of friendship with the colonial government, 6; in 1827 is permitted to occupy the territory

between the Keiskama and Beka rivers, 7; during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 professes to be neutral, though many of his followers are in arms against the colony, 98; on the 17th of September 1835 agrees to become a British subject, 126; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 150; on the 19th of June 1838 enters into a supplementary treaty with Sir George Napier, 176; on the 29th of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications in these treaties, 187; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 259

Pears, Rev. John: in May 1829 becomes first resident clergyman at Glen Lynden, 23; on the 2nd of April 1839 becomes the first resident clergyman of the Dutch reformed congregation in Albany, 216

Peddie, Lieutenant-Colonel John: on the outbreak of the sixth Kaffir war proceeds with his regiment from Capetown to the scene of hostilities, 94; in March 1835 commands one of the four divisions of the army which enters Kaffirland, 102

* Philip Rev. Dr.: in 1826 gives to Adam Kok II the district of Philippolis, 413; in 1834 attempts unsuccessfully to procure the deposition of Cornelis Kok as captain of Campbell, 413; shows determined opposition to the commando law of June 1833, 28; in 1834 successfully opposes the passing of an ordinance against vagrancy, 80; during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 devotes all his energy to supporting the cause of the Xosas, 118; disapproves of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's arrangements in 1835 with regard to the Kaffirs, 136; takes Jan Tshatshu and Andries Stoffels to England as specimens of the result of mission work in South Africa, 137; gives evidence at great length before a committee of the house of commons, 137; makes a tour through England with Tshatshu and Stoffels, everywhere drawing adherents to his cause, 138; during the government of Sir George Napier possesses very great power in South Africa, 406; favours the creation of a belt of native states under missionary influence along the colonial border, 407; urges the governor to enter into a treaty of alliance with the Basuto chief Moshesh, 407

Philippolis, village of: in 1823 is founded as a mission station, 412

Phœnix, the, coasting steamer: in December 1842 arrives from England, 227

Piers, Major Henry: in January 1839 becomes the first resident magistrate of Paarl, 228

Pigot, Major: is one of the early breeders of merino sheep in the district of Albany, 40

Piketberg, village of: in 1840 is founded, 217

Piketberg, Dutch reformed church at: about the 17th of October 1833 the first consistory commences duty, 217

Pillans, Charles Stuart: is one of the first unofficial members of the legislative council established in 1834, 48

Pirie mission station: in May 1830 is founded, 99; is named after the reverend Alexander Pirie, one of the founders of the Glasgow missionary society, 131
Pondo tribe: see Faku
*Port Elizabeth: in February 1832 owing to retrenchment is deprived of its magistrate, 84; in 1834 contains twelve hundred residents, 84; by an order in council in April 1836 is made a free warehousing port, 164
Port Elizabeth, district of: on the 6th of February 1837 is created, 164
Port Elizabeth bank: in 1847 is established, 242
Porter, William: on the 16th of September 1839 becomes attorney-general of the Cape Colony, 215
Port Rex: see Buffalo river mouth
Port St. John's: description of, 252; in October 1846 is opened to commerce, 252
Poshuli, brother of the Basuto chief Moshesh: is a notorious robber captain, 436; is sent by Moshesh to reside at Vechtkop in the centre of a European settlement, where he collects a band of worthless characters about him, 436
*Postal arrangements: before 1834 the principal villages are connected with regular weekly posts
Post Victoria: towards the close of 1844 is built at the head of the Sheshegu streamlet between the Keiskama and Fish rivers, 256
Potchefstroom, town of: in November 1838 is founded by the party of emigrants under Hendrik Potgieter, 327
Potchefstroom, district of: boundaries in 1840, 350
Potgieter, Andries Hendrik: is head of the second large party of emigrants that in 1836 leaves the Cape Colony, 274; purchases from the Bataung chief Makwana all the land between the Vet and Vaal rivers except a small reserve, 275; with eleven others explores the country northward to the Zoutpansberg, 276; in October 1836 is attacked by a Matabele army at Vechtkop, and beats his assailants back, but loses all his cattle, 280; receives assistance which enables him to retire to Thaba Ntshu, 282; with the aid of Commandant Maritz prepares to punish the Matabele, 285; on the 17th of January 1837 attacks them in the valley of Mosega, 287; defeats them and takes a good deal of spoil, with which he returns to Thaba Ntshu, 288; shortly afterwards removes to the Vet river and founds the village of Winburg, 288; quarrels with Maritz, 286; on account of the jealousy that is so rife among the emigrants resolves to set up an independent government, 292; in November 1837 on the Marikwa attacks Moselekatse the second time, and compels him to abandon that part of the country and flee beyond the Limpopo, 293; then proclaims the territory which the Matabele have overrun forfeited to the emigrant farmers, 294; after the massacres in Natal

hastens to the aid of his countrymen, but declines to serve under Maritz, 322; in company with a body of men under Pieter Uys proceeds to attack Dingan, and on the 11th of April 1838 is defeated in a battle and compelled to retreat, 324; in May leaves Natal and recrosses the Drakensberg, 326; in November settles on the banks of the Mooi river, and founds the town of Potchefstroom, 327; from this date until September 1840 his party has an independent government, 327; in July 1840 makes an effort to recover some white children whom Moselekatse holds as captives, but cannot find the Matabele, 349; in September 1840 enters into a loose kind of union with the republic of Natal, 349; after this date is styled chief commandant, 350; in May 1842 refuses to assist the republic of Natal against an English invading force, 368; early in 1844 visits Mr. Smellekamp at Delagoa Bay, 394; throughout his life shows gratitude to the Barolong people for services performed by some of them, 404; in December 1844 visits Philippolis, but is unable to induce Adam Kok to refrain from interfering with the emigrant farmers, 425; in 1845 settles at Zoutpansberg, 443: in 1846 reduces the Bapedi tribe to submission, 443; in June 1847 conducts an unsuccessful expedition against the Matabele, 444

Pottinger, steamship: in 1847 makes the quickest passage then known from Europe to Table Bay, 254

Presbyteries of the Dutch reformed church: constitution of, 222

Press ordinance: in April 1829 is issued, 15

Pretorius, Andries Willem Jacobus: in November 1838 arrives in Natal, and is immediately elected commandant-general of all the emigrants there, 329; without any delay collects a force and marches against Dingan, 330; on the 16th of December 1838 on the Blood river inflicts a crushing defeat upon the Zulu army, 331; in January 1840 with a commando of four hundred burghers assists Panda against Dingan, 342; causes Tambusa, one of Dingan's great indunas, to be put to death, 343; after the decisive battle in which Dingan's power is destroyed, on the 10th of February instals Panda as chief of the Zulus in vassalage to the volksraad of Natal, 345; on the 14th of February 1840 issues a proclamation taking possession of the territory northward to the Umvolosi river, 345; in December 1840 directs an attack upon the Bacas of Ncapayi, 359; on the 17th of May 1842 is instructed by the volksraad to require the English forces that have recently arrived in Natal to leave within two days, and if they do not go to enforce the demand by arms, 368; on the night of the 23rd of May defeats a detachment of the English troops sent out to attack him, 370; on the 26th seizes the military stores landed on the Point, 371; on the 31st invests the British camp, 371; on the 26th of June strong reinforcements reach the British camp and he is obliged to abandon Durban, 374; retires to Maritzburg, where he exerts all his influence in favour of coming to terms with

the English commander, 376; in July after the submission of the volksraad to the authority of the queen resigns the office of commandant-general, 378
Prince Albert, village of: in 1841 is founded, 220
Prince Albert, Dutch reformed church at: in November 1842 the first consistory is appointed, 220
Prinsloo, Joachim, president of the volksraad of Natal: in July 1842 is excepted from the general amnesty agreed to by Colonel Cloete, 377; a reward of £250 is offered for his apprehension, but no one molests him, 378; in January 1844 he dies of fever contracted at Delagoa Bay, 394
Protecteur fire and life assurance company: in 1838 is founded in Capetown, 225
Province of Queen Adelaide: on the 10th of May 1835 is created by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, 114; nearly the whole of it is allotted to the Kaffirs, 134; on the 5th of December 1836 it is abandoned by the British government, 150
Public debt in 1835, 33
Purcell, William: on the 13th of July 1834 is murdered in the Galeka country, 112

Queen's road between Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort: is made during the government of Sir George Napier, 198
Qeto, chief of the Amakwabi: in 1828 is obliged to flee from Dingan, and commits dreadful ravages south of the Umzimvubu, 303; in September 1829 murders Mr. Farewell and his companions, 305

Rademeyer, Commandant Jacobus Ignatius: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 performs good service, 102
Rawstorne, Fleetwood: in 1835 at the close of the sixth Kaffir war is appointed agent with some clans in the province of Queen Adelaide, 130; in February 1837 is appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the new district of Colesberg, 164; on the 1st of July 1845 is directed to act as a special magistrate at Philippolis until the appointment of a British resident in the territory between the Orange and Modder rivers, 432
* Read, Rev. James: in 1829 settles as a missionary at the Kat river, 10; during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is prevented by the government from visiting the Hottentots of the Kat river, 97
Recorder's court of Natal: on the 16th of October 1845 is established, 399; constitution and powers of, 399
Reitz, Jan Frederik: is the first successful breeder of merino sheep in the Cape Colony, 38
van Rensburg, Jan: is leader of a party of emigrants from the Cape Colony, 271; in May 1836 reaches the Zoutpansberg, but shortly

afterwards moves onward and encounters a Bantu tribe by whom all of his party except two children are put to death, 271

Representative legislative assembly: fruitless efforts of the colonists to obtain a, 46 and 48

Reprisal for thefts by Kaffirs: system as initiated by Lord Charles Somerset, 3; as modified by General Bourke, 4; as further modified by Sir Lowry Cole, 5; as still further modified by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, 49

* Resident magistrates: in 1834 the office is united with that of civil commissioner, 44

Retief, Pieter: early life of, 289; is married to the widow of J. C. Greyling, who in December 1811 was murdered with Landdrost Stockenstrom by Kaffirs, 118; he is leader of the fourth party of emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony, 289; in April 1837 arrives in the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu, 289; on the 6th of June is elected governor and commandant-general of all the emigrant farmers, 290; arranges matters of administration, 291; offers peace to Moselekatse, who takes no notice of the proposal, 291; early in October with a party of emigrants sets out on a preliminary visit to Natal, 314; is warmly welcomed by the English residents at Durban, 314; visits Dingan at Umkungunhlovu, 314; and receives a promise of a grant of land on condition of recovering some cattle that have been stolen from the Zulus by Sikonyela's Batlokua, 315; returns to the Caledon and compels Sikonyela to surrender his spoil, 315; with a large body of emigrants then goes down to Natal, 315; with sixty-five companions and some Hottentot servants proceeds to Dingan's residence with the recovered cattle, 316; and there, on the 6th of February 1838, all are murdered, 317

* Revenue of the Cape Colony: from 1806 to 1835, particulars concerning, 31; particulars concerning the various taxes levied between 1836 and 1850, 202; average yearly receipts during quinquennial periods from 1836 to 1850, 206

Rex, George: builds a brig at the Knysna, 134

Rex, John: at the close of 1836 and beginning of 1837 lands and ships goods at the mouth of the Buffalo river, 135

Rhenish missionary society: in 1829 commences to labour in South Africa, 84

Rice, Mr. J. Spring: from July to December 1834 is secretary of state for the colonies, 141

Richardson, Lieutenant-Colonel, of the 7th dragoons: in 1845 is sent in command of a body of troops to assist Adam Kok against the emigrant farmers, 428

Richmond, village of: in April 1844 is founded, 246

Richmond, Dutch reformed church at: in October 1843 the first consistory is appointed, 246

Riebeek East, village of: in 1840 is founded, 216

Riebeek East, Dutch reformed church at: on the 9th of March 1830 the civil commissioner of Albany is directed by the governor to nominate the first elders and deacons, who are installed in January 1831, 216; on the 22nd of April 1831 the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet appoints a consulent, and on the 28th of November 1838 the governor appoints the reverend John Pears resident clergyman, who on the 2nd of April 1839 commences duty, 216

* van der Riet, J. W.: in 1834 becomes civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Uitenhage, 44

van der Riet, Rev. T. J.: in May 1845 becomes the first resident clergyman of Mossel Bay, 249

* Rivers, Harry: in 1834 becomes civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Swellendam, 44; on the 7th of December 1841 becomes treasurer-general of the Cape Colony, 215

Riversdale, village of: in 1838 is founded, 217

Riversdale, Dutch reformed church at: in June 1839 the first consistory commences duty, 217

Road boards: constitution of, 230; in November 1843 are first created in the Cape Colony, 231

Robb, Captain, of the *Leda*: in 1834 commences to bring merino rams from New South Wales to the Cape Colony, 41; in 1835 and 1836 brings Angora goats to the Cape, 41

* Rolland, Rev. Samuel: in 1835 with a horde of refugees from the north founds the mission station Beersheba at Zevenfontein, 283

* Roman catholic church in the Cape Colony: particulars concerning, 224

Roman-Dutch law: on the 27th of August 1845 is made the fundamental law of Natal, 399

Roos, F.: in July 1838 is appointed landdrost of Port Natal, 328

Roux, Rev. Dr.: on the 10th of January 1842 becomes clergyman of the Dutch reformed congregation in Albany, and in September of the same year gives the church place the name Riebeek East, 216

Russell, Lord John: on the 3rd of September 1839 becomes secretary of state for the colonies, 183; on the 3rd of September 1841 is succeeded by Lord Stanley, 188

* van Ryneveld, Daniel Johannes: in 1834 becomes civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Stellenbosch, 44

* van Ryneveld, Jan: in 1834 becomes assistant civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Clanwilliam, 44

* van Ryneveld, Willem Cornelis: in 1834 becomes civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Graaff-Reinet, 44

Sabina, the, Spanish ship: on the 7th of August 1842 is wrecked on Cape Recife, 229

* Salaries of civil servants: in 1834 are still further cut down, 44

Sandile, son of Gaika's great wife: is a minor in 1829 at the time of Gaika's death, 51; during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is a minor

living with his mother Sutu in professed friendship with the Cape Colony, 111; early in 1840 is circumcised, 185; on the 2nd of December 1840 enters into a treaty with Sir George Napier, 187; in June 1843 promises Colonel Hare to aid in punishing the robber captain Tola, but in reality assists Tola to escape, 190; in July 1844 shelters some robbers who have murdered a farmer named De Lange, 256; but pays fifty head of cattle to the murdered man's widow, 257; on the 21st of January in the following year enters into new treaty arrangements with Sir Peregrine Maitland, 259; in November 1845 consents to the erection of a fort at Blockdrift, 260; in January 1846 personally assaults and robs a trader in his country, 262; and on being called upon for redress sets the governor at defiance and withdraws his consent to the erection of a fort at Blockdrift, 262; at a meeting with Lieutenant-Governor Hare, however, he tones down his remarks, and the matter is allowed to pass by, 263; immediately after this he tries to induce the Ndlambes and Tembus to join him against the Cape Colony, 264

Sarili (correct Kaffir spelling): see Kreli

Satchell, Rev. W., missionary at Buntingville: at the beginning of the sixth Kaffir war takes refuge at Clarkebury, where in April 1835 he is rescued by a military patrol, 111

Savings banks: in June 1831 are first established in the Cape Colony, 19

Scholtz, Rev. Ernest, of the Berlin missionary society: on the 29th of November 1845 is murdered by Kaffirs near Fort Peddie, 261

Scholtz, Dr. J. W. L.: is the first resident clergyman of Piketberg, 217

* Schools: particulars concerning the system of public education in the Cape Colony before 1839 and improvements after that date, 208; statistics in 1846, 250

Schreuder, Rev. H., of the Norwegian mission: in 1843 arrives and establishes a mission in Zululand

Scotch church in Capetown: in May 1829 is opened for public worship, 16

Sekwati, chief of the Bapedi tribe: in 1846 is defeated by the emigrant farmers, 443

Separation of the eastern and western provinces of the Cape Colony: in 1834 is desired by a large section of the eastern people, 84

Shand, Rev. Robert: in November 1835 becomes clergyman of Tulbagh, 220; is the cause of a division of the congregation, 220

* Shaw, Rev. William: through his agency the Gunukwebes regain possession of the land between the Keiskama and Beka rivers, 5

Shepstone, Theophilus: shortly after the beginning of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 guides a party of volunteers to Wesleyville to rescue the white people who have taken refuge there, 99; after serving as an interpreter during the war is appointed clerk to the agent-general, 130; in December 1836 acts as interpreter for Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom when concluding treaties with the Kaffir and Fingo

chiefs, 152; in November 1838 accompanies a military force to Port Natal as Kaffir interpreter, 334; in February 1839 succeeds Mr. J. M. Bowker as diplomatic agent with the Fingos and Gunukwebes, 190; in June 1843 assists in an unsuccessful expedition against the robber captain Tola, 191; in October and November 1844 proceeds to Butterworth to obtain Kreli's mark to a treaty, 257; and to Pondoland to obtain Faku's mark to another, 395; in November 1845 ceases to be diplomatic agent at Fort Peddie, 261; as he is appointed agent for natives in Natal, 400

Shepstone, Rev. William, Wesleyan missionary: assists in the negotiations by which the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is brought to an end, 123; after the conclusion of peace reoccupies the mission station Wesleyville, 131

Shiloh mission station: in 1828 is founded by the Moravian society, 52; after the abandonment of Clarkebury in April 1835 is the only mission station left in any part of Kaffirland, 111

* Ships that put into Table Bay: from 1806 to 1835, 43

* Shipwrecks in Table Bay in July 1831, 18

Sigcawu, Xosa captain: expedition against and death of, 53 and 54

* Sikonyela, chief of the Batlokua tribe: makes an agreement of friendship with Pieter Retief, 291; in December 1837 is compelled by Pieter Retief to surrender some cattle which his people have stolen from Dingan, 315; in March 1846 agrees to submit his dispute with Moshesh to the judgment of a commission to be appointed by the governor of the Cape Colony, 437; in 1847 renews hostilities with Moshesh, 439

* Simonstown, district of: in 1834 is joined to the Cape, 44

Simonstown: on the 30th of July 1837 the new English church is opened for worship

Sir Lowry's pass: in 1830 the road thus named over the Hottentots-Holland mountains is opened, 24

Sitamba, a Xosa: at the commencement of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 performs an act of great humanity, 91

Siwani, great son of Dushane: on his father's death in 1828 is left a minor, 51; during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is a minor living with his mother Nonibe in professed friendship with the Cape Colony, 111; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, 259

Sixth Kaffir war: in the evening of the 21st of December 1834 a great horde of Kaffirs begins to cross the boundary and lay waste the frontier colonial districts, 90; in ten or twelve days the whole of the open country as far west as the village of Uitenhage is ravaged, 91; twenty-two white men are murdered, four hundred and fifty-six houses are burned, and an immense number of horses, horned cattle, sheep, and goats are driven off, 91; fortunately most of the colonists receive warning in time to take refuge in the towns and

villages, but all the trading stations in Kaffirland are pillaged, and ten of the traders are murdered, 92; the three military posts farthest in advance are of necessity abandoned, 92; Lieutenant-Colonel Smith and all the troops that can be spared from the Cape peninsula are sent to the scene of hostilities as rapidly as possible, 94; the burgher forces of the colony are called out and a number of Hottentots are levied, 95; on the 10th of January 1835 a patrol under Major Cox leaves Grahamstown and commences operations against the Xosas, 96; on the 20th of January Sir Benjamin D'Urban arrives in Grahamstown and takes command of the assembled forces, 97; the missionaries and surviving traders in Kaffirland are brought out by patrols sent to rescue them, 99; early in February the Kaffirs are driven out of the colony, but take possession of the thickets along the Fish river, 100; where they are attacked on the 12th of February, and on the 15th are obliged to retire, 101; on the 19th of February they make a sudden raid into the Kat river settlement, but are beaten back, 101; they manage, however, to recover the fastnesses of the Fish river, from which it is with difficulty that they are again expelled, 102; they then retire to the forests along the Amatola mountains, 102; on the 31st of March the colonial forces cross the Keiskama to attack them there, 106; between the 2nd and the 10th of April a good many cattle are recovered and the Xosas are driven out of the fastnesses of the Amatola, 107; on the 15th of April a division of the army under Sir Benjamin D'Urban crosses the Kei into the territory of Hintsa, paramount chief of the tribe, who has been aiding the Rarabe clans in the war, 108; on the 17th this force encamps at Butterworth, 109; where certain Fingo captains apply to the governor for protection, whereupon Sir Benjamin D'Urban adopts a plan of settlement which involves the removal of them and their people to the territory between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 110; as Hintsa does not give satisfaction for his hostile conduct, on the 24th of April war is declared against him, and the forces then commence to scour the Galeka country and succeed in capturing some cattle, which causes Hintsa to come to the camp on the 29th of April to ask for peace, 112; on the following day terms are agreed upon, and on the 2nd of May the troops begin to move towards the colony, 112; on the 4th of May terms of peace are offered to the Rarabe chiefs, which they refuse to accept, 114; Hintsa does not fulfil his agreement, and is killed while attempting to escape from a patrol sent out by his desire to collect cattle, 116; on the 19th of May peace is concluded with his son Kreli, 117; the Rarabes are encouraged to continue the war by the language of their European sympathisers, 118; on the 23rd of May the farmers are disbanded that they may get seed grain in the ground, and the Hottentots who are kept under arms have pay assigned to them,

120; the forces in the field continue to harass the Rarabes as much as possible, 121; as soon as the seed is in the ground the farmers are called to arms again, 122; but negotiations are now opened with the Rarabe chiefs through the medium of some Wesleyan missionaries, and on the 15th of August a suspension of hostilities is arranged, 123; on the 11th of September Sir Benjamin D'Urban has a conference at Fort Willshire with the Rarabe chiefs, and on the 17th peace is finally concluded by the chiefs consenting to become British subjects and to have locations assigned to them in the province of Queen Adelaide, 125

Siyolo, right-hand son of Dushane: on his father's death in 1828 tries to gain as much power as possible during the minority of his brother Siwani, 51; allies himself with the Gaikas, 56; in December 1834 sends his followers to invade and lay waste the frontier districts of the Cape Colony, 90; continues the conflict until the 17th of September 1835, when he agrees to become a British subject, 125; on the 5th of March 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 150; in August 1837 attacks the Fingos at Fort Peddie and plunders them, 157; on the 31st of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 188

Slaves: particulars concerning the introduction and treatment of slaves, 61; details of the various enactments after April 1836 concerning the relationship between masters and slaves, 63 *et seq.*; proposal by Lord Charles Somerset for the extinction of slavery, 66; proposals of the colonists for the extinction of slavery, 68; irritation caused by orders in council which can not be carried out, 69; establishment of a society for aiding slaves to obtain their freedom, 73; particulars of the imperial emancipation act, under which on the 1st of December 1834 slavery ceased to exist in the Cape Colony, 73; method of conducting the appraisement of the slaves, 75; number and value of the slaves on the day of emancipation, 75; manner in which the 1st of December 1834 was observed in the colony, 75; particulars concerning the treatment of the late slaves, now apprentices for four years, 76; widespread misery caused by the emancipation of the slaves without adequate compensation to the owners, 77; present condition of the descendants of the slaves, 78

Small-pox: in 1840 causes great loss of life in the Cape Colony, 192

Smellekamp, Johan Arnaud: on the 24th of March 1842 arrives at Port Natal as supercargo of the Dutch trading brig *Brazilia*, 366; is sent back to Holland by the volksraad of Natal to negotiate a treaty placing the republic under the protection of the king of the Netherlands and to procure clergymen and schoolmasters, 367; when passing through the Cape Colony with this object is arrested

and confined for being without a pass, but is soon released and allowed to embark for Europe, 367; receives no countenance from the government of Holland, 382; returns to South Africa as director of a trading company, but on arriving at Natal on the 8th of May 1843 is not permitted by the English authorities to land his goods or to communicate with the farmers, so proceeds to Delagoa Bay, where he remains for some time, 383; in December 1843 is visited at Lourenço Marques by some emigrant farmers, through whom he sends advice to the great body of the emigrants to move to the northeast and open communication with the outer world through Delagoa Bay, 394; afterwards gives the same advice to Commandant Hendrik Potgieter, who acts upon it, 395; then proceeds to Holland, but after a few years returns to South Africa, 395

Smit, Erasmus, an old missionary teacher: in 1837 is engaged to conduct public worship for the emigrant farmers, 291

Smith, Captain Thomas Charlton, of the 27th regiment: in January 1841 is sent in command of a military force to form a camp on the Umgazi river for the protection of the Pondo chief Faku, 360; in December of the same year is instructed by Sir George Napier to move on and occupy Port Natal, 363; on the 1st of April 1842 leaves the Umgazi for that purpose, and on the 4th of May forms a camp close to Durban, 365; on the night of the 23rd of May marches from his camp to attack the farmers assembled at Kongela, but is beaten back with heavy loss, 369; on the 31st of May his camp is invested by the farmers under Commandant-General Pretorius, 371; he holds out until the 26th of June, when a relieving force under Colonel Cloete arrives from Capetown, 374; upon Colonel Cloete's departure in July he is again left in command of the troops in Natal with the rank of major, 378; on the 31st of August 1843 occupies Maritzburg with troops, 390; in August 1845 is succeeded in command in Natal by Lieutenant-Colonel E. F. Boys, 399; is offered the situation of British resident in Adam Kok's country, but declines it, 432; in December of this year is appointed agent-general and frontier commissioner, and is stationed at Fort Beaufort, 262

*Smith, Dr. Andrew: in 1834 visits the Zulu chief Dingan, 304; in 1835 explores the territory along the upper Limpopo, 275; and has very friendly interviews with various chiefs and captains north of the Orange river, 284

Smith, Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards Sir Harry): in March 1829 becomes deputy-quartermaster-general at the Cape, 94; on the 1st of January 1835 leaves Capetown, and in less than six days rides on horseback to Grahamstown to organise measures of defence against Kaffir invaders of the colony, 94; levies large numbers of Hottentots to aid the soldiers and burghers, 95; on the 11th of

February at the head of a division of the army crosses the Fish river to attack the Kaffirs, 101; after the arrival of Sir Benjamin D'Urban on the frontier is second in command of the forces, 102; in May is in command of a patrol when the paramount chief Hintsa is killed, 115; from the 11th of June to the conclusion of peace in September has direct command of the forces in the field, 121; is left in King-Williamstown with military control over the province of Queen Adelaide, 129; on the 13th of September 1836 lays down his charge in the province, 148; in January 1837 attains the rank of colonel in the army, 172

Snyman, Jacobus Theodorus: in 1844 is head of a party of emigrant farmers in the valley of the Caledon river who are favourable to British rule, 425; and who profess to hold their lands from Moshesh, 429

*Somerset, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry: in December 1825 conducts an expedition into Kaffirland, 2; in May 1829 drives Makoma from the Kat river over the Tyumie, 8; in December 1834 demands and obtains redress from the chief Eno for an act of violence, 88; after the outbreak of the sixth Kaffir war drives the invaders out of the colony, 100; on the 11th of February 1835 attacks the Kaffirs in the thickets of the Fish river, 101; in March commands one of the four divisions of the army which enters Kaffirland, 102; in June 1839 takes command of the Cape mounted riflemen, 171

*Somerset East, district of: in 1834 is reduced to a sub-district for fiscal purposes, and is attached to Albany, 44; in July 1837 is again separated from Albany, 165

South African bank: in 1838 is founded in Capetown, 226

South African college: in October 1829 is established, 20; particulars concerning its progress, 209

South African Dutch colonists: are of mixed European blood, 265; speak a dialect different in some respects from the language of Holland at the present day, 265; characteristics of, 269

South African fire and life assurance company: in March 1831 is established in Capetown, 19

Southey, Richard: in 1835 at the close of the sixth Kaffir war is appointed agent with some clans in the province of Queen Adelaide, 130; in December 1836 retires from the service, 69

Sparks, Ensign Robert Manners, of the Cape mounted rifles: in December 1834 with a strong patrol is sent to obtain compensation from the Xosa chief Eno for stolen horses, 87; seizes forty head of cattle, with which he sets out to return to Fort Willshire, 88; is attacked on the way, but is rescued by the chief Stokwe, 88; before reaching the fort receives a severe wound from a Kaffir who springs suddenly upon him, 88

Stanger, Dr. William: on the 2nd of January 1845 is appointed surveyor-general of Natal, 399; on the 14th of March 1854 dies

Stanley, Lord: on the 3rd of September 1841 becomes secretary of state for the colonies, 188; on the 25th of May 1844 announces the decision of the imperial authorities concerning the form of government of Natal as a British possession, 397; on the 23rd of December 1845 retires, 239

* Stellenbosch, village of: on the 5th of June 1840 becomes a municipality

* Stockenstrom, Andries, junior, (afterwards Sir Andries): in 1829 locates a large number of Hottentots in the upper valleys of the Kat river, 9; in March 1833 leaves the colony to visit Europe, and while there is obliged by the secretary of state to retire on a pension, 84; in 1835 is a pensioner living in Europe, 138; gives most damaging evidence against the colonists before a committee of the house of commons, 139; is sent out as lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts of the Cape Colony with instructions to restore the province of Queen Adelaide to the Kaffirs, 144; on the 25th of July 1836 takes the oaths of office in Capetown, 144; on arriving in Grahamstown is challenged by a mass meeting to prove his assertions before the committee of the commons, 147; on the 13th of September has a conference with the Rarabe chiefs at King-Williamstown, 148; forms a new line of defence along the Fish and Kat rivers, 149; on the 5th of December renounces British authority over the province of Queen Adelaide and over the territory east of the Stormberg spruit, 150; restores to Kreli the land ceded by him, 150; and concludes treaties with the Rarabe chiefs as independent rulers, 150; five days later enters into a similar treaty with the principal Fingo captains at Fort Peddie, 152; on the 18th of January 1837 concludes a similar treaty with the emigrant Tembu chief Mapasa, 153; is unable to protect the Fingos from the Xosas, 157; makes an abortive attempt to form Hottentot locations along the Fish river, 158; finds himself in altogether a false position, 159; brings an action for libel against Captain Campbell, civil commissioner of Albany, 162; and loses the case, 163; which causes great rejoicing throughout the eastern province, 163; urges the occupation of Port Natal upon Lord Glenelg as a means of forcing the emigrant farmers to return to the Cape Colony, 333; by order of Lord Glenelg a serious charge against him is investigated by a commission consisting of Sir George Napier, Major Charters, and Captain Dundas, 179; who find that he shot a Kaffir, but that it was a lawful military act, 179; he then obtains leave of absence, and on the 9th of August 1838 embarks for England, 180; where he tenders his resignation to the secretary of state, but afterwards withdraws it, 181; on the 31st of August 1839 is deprived of office by Lord Normanby, 182; but receives from Lord John Russell a baronetcy and a pension of £700 a year, 183; on the 31st of May 1840 reaches South Africa again, 183

Stockenstrom *versus* Campbell: particulars of an action for libel, 162
Stoffels, Andries, a Gona Hottentot: in 1835-6 visits England with the reverend Dr. Philip, 137; gives evidence before a committee of the house of commons, and makes a tour through England, 138; contracts consumption, and dies at Capetown when returning to his home, 138
Stokwe, great son of the Xosa chief Eno: in December 1834 prevents the destruction of a military patrol, 88
St. George's cathedral in Capetown: in December 1834 is opened for worship, 18
St. Lucia Bay: on the 5th of October 1843 is ceded to the queen of England by the Zulu chief Panda, 393
St. Mungo, the: on the 20th of September 1844 is wrecked on Cape Agulhas, 244
St. Paul's church, Rondebosch: on the 16th of February 1834 is opened for use
Stretch, Captain Charles Lennox: at the close of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is appointed agent with the Gaika, Imidange, and Amambala clans, and is stationed at Fort Cox, 130; in December 1836 is removed from Fort Cox to Blockdrift, and is directed to act as consular agent, 153
Stuurman, a robber captain: after 1830 has his stronghold on islands in the Orange river, 25; and ravages the country on all sides, 26
* Supreme court of the Cape Colony: in 1834 is constituted under a new charter of justice, 45
Susa, Xosa chieftainess: dealings with, 2
Sutton, Lieutenant William, of the 75th regiment: on the 10th of December 1834 is sent with a small patrol from Fort Beaufort to expel some intruding Kaffirs from colonial ground and to obtain compensation from them for stolen horses, 89; finds the intruders defiant, but manages to burn their huts and to seize some oxen, 89; when returning to Fort Beaufort is attacked, and with great difficulty and some loss reaches the fort, 89; in December 1845 becomes British resident in Adam Kok's territory, but in January 1846 resigns, 432; subsequently is raised to the rank of captain, and is transferred to the Cape mounted rifles
Sutu, great widow of Gaika: at the beginning of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 gives protection to several missionaries and traders, 99; throughout the war professes friendship to the Cape Colony, 111; upon the death of Tyali on the 1st of May 1842 is accused by a witchfinder of having killed that chief, but is protected from maltreatment by the diplomatic agent Stretch and the missionaries of the Glasgow society, 189
Synod of the Dutch reformed church in the Cape Colony: constitution of, 221

* Taaibosch, Gert: complains of the injustice done to him by the treaty of 1843 between Sir George Napier and the Basuto chief Moshesh, 421; in June 1845 has a conference with Sir Peregrine Maitland at Touwfontein, but as he will not admit the authority of Moshesh no arrangement can be made with him in furtherance of a settlement of the dispute between them, 430; in August 1845 offers a tract of land for settlement by Europeans, 435; in March 1846 agrees to submit his dispute with Moshesh to the judgment of a commission to be appointed by the governor of the Cape Colony, 437; in June of the same year assists Major Warden to disperse the adherents of Jan Kock, 438

Tambusa, Zulu induna: in May 1835 on behalf of Dingan enters into a treaty with Captain Gardiner, 310; in January 1840 is sent by Dingan to negotiate with the emigrant farmers, and is put to death by them, 342

* Tawane, Barolong captain: in 1841 moves from Thaba Ntshu over the Vaal, and has a tract of land assigned to him by Commandant Potgieter, upon which he lives as a favoured subject of the emigrant farmers, 404

* Tembu tribe: in 1835 is governed by the regent Vadana, as the chief Umtirara is a minor, 104; has then little strength for warlike purposes, 104; in 1835 is attacked by the Bacas under Ncapayi and sustains much loss, 105; in 1834 and 1835 sends various offshoots into the territory along the Zwart Kei river, 107; in November 1836 is again attacked and plundered by Ncapayi, 354; in 1838 is reduced to such misery by attacks of the Pondos and Bacas that it flees to the territory along the upper branches of the Kei, 355; see Mapasa, Nonesi, Umtirara, and Vadana

Tente, inferior son of Gaika: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 professes friendship to the Cape Colony, 111

Thaba Bosigo mission station: in 1837 is founded by agents of the Paris evangelical society, 440

* Thom, Rev. Dr. George: on the 24th of August 1825 is appointed clergyman of the Dutch reformed church at Tulbagh, 220; a few years later becomes insane, and in 1835 is removed to an asylum, 220

* Thomson, Rev. W. R.: in 1829 is stationed by the government as a clergyman with the Hottentots at the Kat river, 10

Tinde clan: since the middle of the eighteenth century has been gradually becoming weaker, 98; see Tshatshu

du Toit, Rev. A. F.: in June 1840 becomes the first resident clergyman of Wellington, 219.

du Toit, Jacobus Johannes: is one of the first unofficial members of the legislative council established in 1834, 48

Tola, Imidange captain: is head of the most expert robber clan on the border of the Cape Colony, 190; in June 1843 is attacked by

a military force, but as he is assisted by the Gaikas he makes his escape, 191

Toyise, son of Gasela: in March 1845 succeeds his father as captain of a Rarabe clan, 264

Treaties: concluded by Sir Benjamin D'Urban on the 11th of December 1834 with the Griqua captain Andries Waterboer, 58; concluded by Captain Gardiner in May 1835 with the Zulu chief Dingan, 310; concluded by Sir Benjamin D'Urban on the 3rd of March 1836 with the Matabele chief Moselekatse, 285; concluded by Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom on the 5th of December 1836 with the Rarabe chiefs, 150; concluded by Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom on the 10th of December 1836 with the Fingo captains Umhlambiso and Jokweni, 152; concluded by Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom on the 18th of January 1837 with the emigrant Tembu chief Mapasa, 153; concluded by Sir George Napier on the 19th of June 1838 with the Gunukwebe captains, 176; concluded by Sir George Napier on the 2nd of December 1840 with the Gaika chiefs, 187; concluded by Sir George Napier on the 29th of December 1840 with the Fingo captains at Fort Peddie, 187; concluded by Sir George Napier on the 31st of December 1840 with the Ndlambe captains, 188; concluded by Sir George Napier on the 28th of January 1841 with the emigrant Tembu chief Mapasa, 188; concluded by Sir George Napier in November and December 1843 with Adam Kok, Griqua captain of Philippolis, and Moshesh, chief of the Basuto tribe, 419; concluded by Sir Peregrine Maitland on the 7th of October 1844 with the Pondo chief Faku, 395; concluded by Sir Peregrine Maitland in November 1844 with the chief Kreli, 257; concluded by Sir Peregrine Maitland in January 1845 with the Rarabe and Fingo captains, 258; concluded by Sir Peregrine Maitland in February 1846 with the Griqua captain Adam Kok, 432

Triechard, Louis: is leader of the pioneer party in the great emigration from the Cape Colony, 270; in May 1836 reaches the Zoutpansberg, 271; a few months later attempts to explore the country to Delagoa Bay, 272; meets with many disasters, but in April 1838 reaches the bay, 273; where all of his party perish of fever except twenty-six individuals who in July 1839 are rescued and conveyed by sea to Natal, 273

* Truter, Pieter Jan: in 1834 becomes civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Worcester, 44

Tsetse, the: destruction of domestic animals by, 273

* Tshaka, Zulu chief: in July 1824 is first visited by Europeans, 298; is badly wounded by a man who attempts to assassinate him, but rapidly recovers under the skilful treatment of Henry Fynn, owing to which circumstance he becomes a friend of the Englishmen living at Port Natal, 298; on the 7th of August 1824 grants a large tract of land round the port to Mr. Farewell, 299; permits the

Europeans at Port Natal to collect the blacks together and to rule them as chiefs, 300; allows no trade with his Zulu subjects, 300; grants to Henry Fynn a large tract of land, 301; in April 1828 sends an embassy to the Cape government, which is not acknowledged by the colonial authorities, though the indunas are well treated, 301; he next sends John Cane with a friendly greeting to the governor, 301; on the 23rd of September 1828 is assassinated by his brother Dingan and two others, 303

* Tshatshu, captain of the Tinde clan: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 professes friendship to the Cape Colony, 111

Tshatshu, Jan, son of the Tinde captain: in 1835 and 1836 visits England with the reverend Dr. Philip, 137; appears there as a powerful Kaffir chief, and gives evidence before a committee of the house of commons, 138; makes a tour through England, and becomes so conceited and fond of wine that he is utterly ruined, 138

Tulu, Bataung chief, son and successor of Makwana: in 1845 is visited by the special commissioner Gideon Joubert, 434

Tyali, left-hand son of Gaika: about the year 1827 takes possession of the valley of the Mankazana, 5; in September 1833 on account of the depredations of his people is expelled by a military force from the valley of the Mankazana, when he settles on the banks of the Gaga, 54; as the depredations are continued, in November of the same year he is driven across the next higher tributary of the Tyumie, 55; during the year 1834 gives great annoyance to the frontier colonists, 87; on the 21st of December 1834 sends his followers to invade and lay waste the frontier districts of the Cape Colony, 90; attempts to entrap Colonel Somerset, 90; after securing immense booty proposes peace on condition of matters remaining as they are, but his offer is rejected by Colonel Somerset, 95; he continues the conflict until the 17th of September 1835, when he agrees to become a British subject, 125; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 150; on the 2nd of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 187; on the 1st of May 1842 dies of a chest complaint in the Tyumie valley, 189

Umbopa, servant of Tshaka: in September 1828 assists in putting his master to death, 303

Umhala, minor son of Ndlambe: upon his father's death in 1828 supplants his brother Umkayi, 50; allies himself with the Gaikas, 56; in December 1834 sends his followers to invade and lay waste the frontier districts of the Cape Colony, 90; continues the conflict until the 17th of September 1835, when he agrees to become a British subject, 125; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government,

150; on the 31st of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 188; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 259

Umhlambiso, chief of a remnant of the Hlubi tribe: in April 1835 at Butterworth solicits Sir Benjamin D'Urban to give him protection against the Xosas, 110; his request is complied with, and he has land assigned to him between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 113; in December 1836 as an independent chief enters into a treaty with the British government, 152; in August 1837 is badly wounded in an attack by Kaffirs upon his people, 157; on the 29th of December 1840 consents to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 187

Umkayi, son of Ndlambe: upon his father's death in 1828 is supplanted by his brother Umhala, 50; during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 professes friendship to the Cape Colony, 111; in 1838 is in league with some mutineers of the Cape corps, 175; early in 1846 asks for leave to move into the Cape Colony, as he is sure there will shortly be war, 264

Umpande: see Panda

Umsutu, chief of a remnant of the Abasekunene tribe: in April 1835 at Butterworth solicits Sir Benjamin D'Urban to give him protection against the Xosas, 110; his request is complied with, and he has land assigned to him between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 113

Umthlangana: in September 1828 assists his brother Dingan to assassinate Tshaka, and is afterwards murdered by Dingan, 303

Umthlela, Zulu induna: in May 1835 on behalf of Dingan enters into a treaty with Captain Gardiner, 310; on the 30th of January 1840 commands Dingan's army in the great battle with the rebel Zulus under Nongalaza, and is killed in the hottest part of the field, 344

Umtirara, son and heir of Vusani, paramount chief of the Tembu tribe: at the time of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is a minor, 104; on the 25th of March 1845 enters into a treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, 260

Union bank: in 1847 is established in Capetown, 243

Uys, Dirk Cornelis: on the 11th of April 1838 while behaving in a most gallant manner is killed in battle, 324

Uys, Jacobus: in 1837 is leader of a party of emigrants from the Cape Colony, 291; is presented with a large bible by the people of Grahamstown as a mark of their regard, 291; on account of the jealousy that is so rife among the emigrants resolves to set up a government independent of the others somewhere in Natal, 292

Uys, Pieter Lavras: in 1834 with a party of farmers from the Cape Colony inspects the territory of Natal, 307; in 1837 leaves the Cape Colony with a party under the leadership of his father, 291;

in November of this year assists Commandant Potgieter to drive the Matabele from the Marikwa, 293; after the massacres in Natal hastens to the aid of his countrymen, but declines to serve under Maritz, 322; in company with a body of men under Hendrik Potgieter proceeds to attack Dingan, 323; and on the 11th of April 1838 is killed in battle, 324

Vadana: is regent of the Tembu tribe during the minority of Umtirara, heir of Vusani, 104; during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 offers protection to white people who can escape from the Xosa country, 105; in April 1835 assists a patrol under Captain Warden to capture cattle from one of Hintsa's kraals, 112; in November 1836 is plundered by Ncapayi, and in vain seeks aid from Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, 354

Vagrant act: particulars concerning the unsuccessful effort in 1834 to pass an ordinance to suppress vagrancy, 80 *et seq.*

Venable, Rev. Mr., American missionary: in June 1836 with two associates goes to reside with the Matabele in the valley of Mosega, 287; in January 1837 retires with the emigrant farmers, 288; in July 1837 arrives in Natal and commences to labour there, 310; visits Dingan a few hours after the massacre of Pieter Retief and his party, and gives notice to his colleagues at the different stations, when they all retire to the port, 320; in April 1838 leaves Natal, and does not return, 326

Victoria West, village of: in 1844 is founded, 248

Victoria West, Dutch reformed church at: in April 1844 the first consistory commences its duty, 248

de Villiers, John George: in February 1837 is appointed resident magistrate of the new district of Port Elizabeth, 164

Villiersdorp, village of: in 1841 is founded, 228

Volksraad: on the 2nd of December 1836 the first is elected by the emigrant farmers, 282; and on the 6th of June 1837 the second is elected, 290

Volksraad of Natal: constitution and powers of, 336 and 348; in 1840 tries to induce the British government to acknowledge the independence of the republic, 351; but while correspondence on the subject is being carried on, sends a commando to punish the Baca chief Ncapayi for theft of cattle, 358; upon being apprised that Sir George Napier is sending troops to protect Faku, writes in justification of the attack upon Ncapayi, but fails to convince the governor, 361; in August 1841 resolves to locate all the Bantu refugees in Natal in the territory between the Umzimvubu and Umtamvuna rivers, 362; on the 11th of October 1841 writes to Sir George Napier asserting its independence and refusing to consent to a proposal made by him to station a body of troops at Durban, 362; on being informed that British troops are being sent to occupy

Durban, on the 21st of February 1842 announces a determination to resist, 364; in April 1842 sends Mr. J. A. Smellekamp to Holland to negotiate a treaty placing Natal under the protection of the king of the Netherlands, 367; on the 17th of May requires the English force to leave Natal within two days, and instructs Commandant-General Pretorius to enforce the demand, 368; after the defeat of the emigrant farmers and the loss of Durban, on the 15th of July submits to the authority of the queen, 377; but continues its functions as before, 378; on the 8th of August 1843 consents to the conditions for the settlement of the country imposed by the secretary of state for the colonies, 389; on the 4th of September gives expression to its views concerning the future government of Natal, 390; in the last sessions, at the close of 1844 and beginning of 1845, shows itself very inimical to British authority, 398

Volksraad of Potchefstroom: constitution and powers of, 349

Wade, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Francis: from the 10th of August 1833 to the 16th of January 1834 acts as governor of the Cape Colony, 29

Warden, Captain Henry Douglas, of the Cape mounted rifles: in April 1835, during the sixth Kaffir war, is sent with a patrol to rescue the missionaries and traders who have taken shelter at Clarkebury, 111; a few days later with the assistance of the Tembu chief Vadana takes four thousand head of cattle from one of Hintsa's kraals, 112; assists in the conferences by which the war is brought to an end, 124; in January 1841 accompanies a military force sent to form a camp on the Umgazi river for the protection of the Pondo chief Faku, 360; in 1845 accompanies a military force sent from the Cape Colony to assist the Griquas of Adam Kok against the emigrant farmers, 428; in July is left at Philippolis in command of a small garrison, 432; in January 1846 becomes British resident in Adam Kok's territory, 432; in March holds a conference with the chiefs and captains in the country between the Orange and Vaal rivers, and induces them to consent to refer their disputes to a commission to be appointed by the governor of the Cape Colony, 437; in June with the assistance of some blacks and half-breeds disperses Jan Kock's adherents at Winburg, 438

* Waterboer, Andries: upon the removal of the captains Barends and Kok from Griquatown in 1820 he is elected head of the station, 57; is a firm supporter of the missionaries, who in turn do all they can to strengthen him, 57; with the reverend Peter Wright towards the close of 1834 visits Capetown, 57; and on the 11th of December of that year enters into a treaty with the English authorities in South Africa, 58; in February 1837 through the efforts of the missionaries enters into close alliance with Abraham Kok, 414; but from September of the same year until the beginning

of 1841 assists Adam Kok III in war against his brother Abraham, 415; in November 1833 enters into a treaty with Adam Kok III, in which they divide on paper an immense region between them, 415

Waterloo, the, convict ship: on the 28th of August 1842 is wrecked in Table Bay, 229

Weenen, village of: in 1840 is founded, 346

Weir, James, missionary at the Tyumie: in December 1834 is required by the chief Tyali to act as his messenger to Colonel Somerset, 95; on the 20th of January 1835 is rescued by a military patrol, 99; at the close of the war returns to his station at the Tyumie, 131

Wellington, village of: in 1838 is founded, 219

Wellington, Dutch reformed church at: in July 1840 the first consistory commences duty, 219

* Wesleyan society: particulars concerning, 6, 17, 52, 83, and 209

West, Martin: on the 21st of August 1838 becomes civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Albany, 182; on the 13th of November 1845 is appointed lieutenant-governor of Natal, 400

Western Province bank: in 1847 is established at Paarl, 243

* White, Lieutenant Thomas: is one of the early breeders of merino sheep in the district of Albany, 41; in May 1835 is killed near the Bashee river, 116

Whittle, a trader: in 1832 explores the country along the upper Limpopo, 275

Williams, Jane: is living with the family of the reverend Mr. Owen at Umkungunhlovu, and on the 6th of February 1838 witnesses the massacre of Pieter Retief and his party, of which she afterwards publishes an account, 319

Wilson, Dr., American missionary: in June 1836 with two associates goes to reside with the Matabele in the valley of Mosega, 287; in January 1837 retires with the emigrant farmers, 288; in July 1837 arrives in Natal and commences to labour there, 310; in April 1838 leaves Natal, and does not return, 326

Winburg, village of: in 1837 is founded by the emigrant farmers under Commandant Potgieter, 288

Winburg, district of: boundaries in 1840, 349

Wine: inducements held out between 1806 and 1835 to improve the quality and increase the quantity of, 36; in 1834 the trade is in a state of rapid decline, 83; which is further hastened by the emancipation of the slaves, 192

Wood, William: in August 1831 arrives in Natal, 306; resides for several months at Umkungunhlovu as interpreter to Dingan, 319; on the 6th of February 1836 witnesses the massacre of Pieter Retief and his party, 319; a few days later leaves Zululand, 319

Woods, Samuel: on the 21st of November 1843 is appointed first collector of customs in the district of Natal, 394

*Wool: account of the efforts which proved successful in the production of, 38; after the emancipation of the slaves is produced in rapidly increasing quantities, 193

Wright, Rev. William: on the 10th of January 1828 is appointed chaplain at Bathurst

van Wyk, Commandant Stephanus: in February and again in March 1835 by the governor's orders calls upon Hintsa to cease assisting the enemies of the Cape Colony, 103; commands one of the four divisions of the army which in March 1835 enters Kaffirland, 102

Wynberg: in January 1839 is created a magisterial district, 227

Xolo tribe: history of the, 300

Xosa tribe: see Anta, Botumane, Buku, Casa, Eno, Gasela, Hintsa, Jalusa, Kama, Kobe, Kreli, Makoma, Matwa, Nonibe, Pato, Sandile, Siwani, Siyolo, Sonto, Stokwe, Susa, Sutu, Tente, Tola, Toyise, Tshatshu, Tyali, Umhala, Umkayi, and Xoxo

Xoxo, Xosa captain, son of Gaika: in December 1834, just before the outbreak of war, is slightly wounded in attacking a military patrol, 89; upon the death of Tyali on the 1st of May 1842 is chosen to be regent of that chief's clan during the minority of Oba and Fini, 189

Young, Sir Henry Edward Fox: on the 9th of April 1847 arrives in South Africa as lieutenant-governor of the eastern province, 241; collects a mass of opinions upon the question of a separate government for that province, 241; makes regulations for locations of coloured people within the boundaries of municipalities, 241; is appointed lieutenant-governor of South Australia, and on the 4th of November 1847 leaves Grahamstown, 242

Ziervogel, J. F.: in 1834 becomes assistant civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Somerset, 44

Zuid Afrikaan newspaper: on the 9th of April 1830 is first issued, 16

Zulu tribe: see Dingan, Mawa, Nongalaza, Panda, Tambusa, Tshaka, Umbopa, Umthlangana, and Umthlela

Zwartkopjes: account of the skirmish on the 2nd of May 1845 between British troops and emigrant farmers, 428

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